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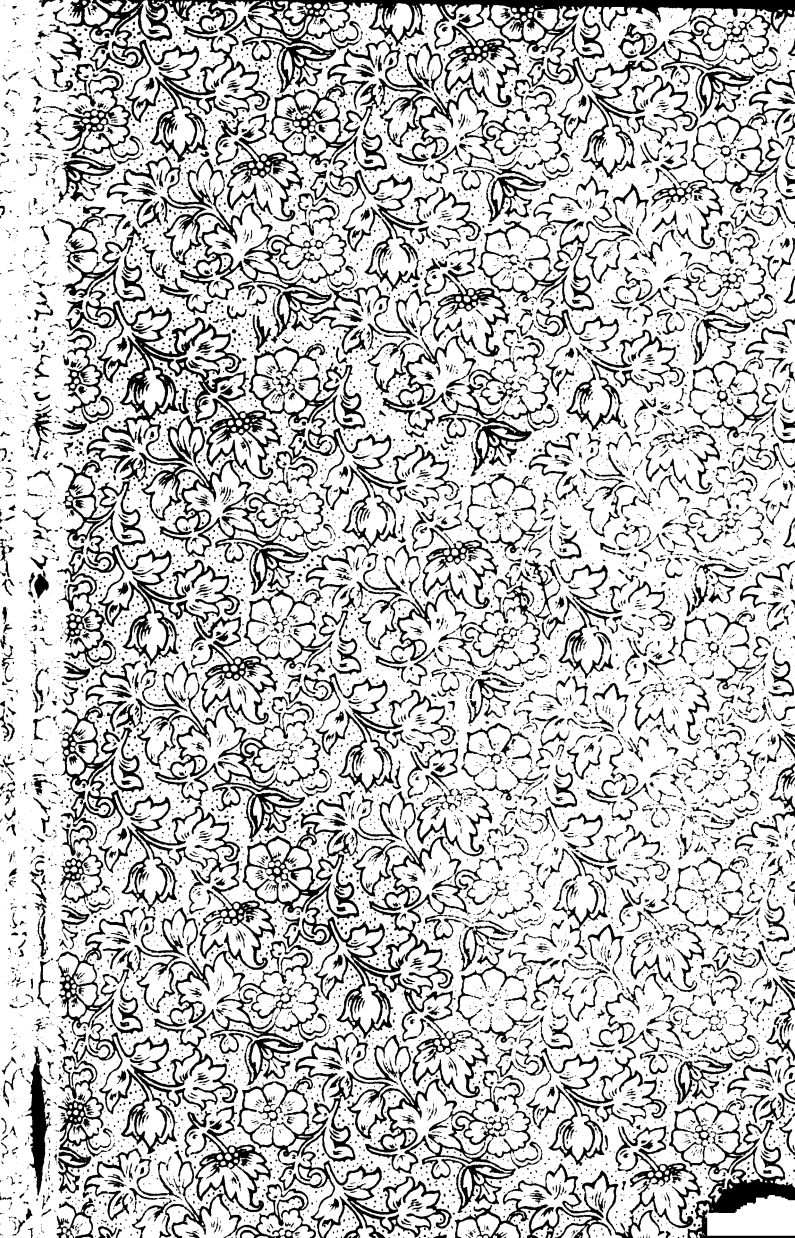
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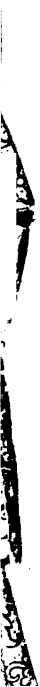
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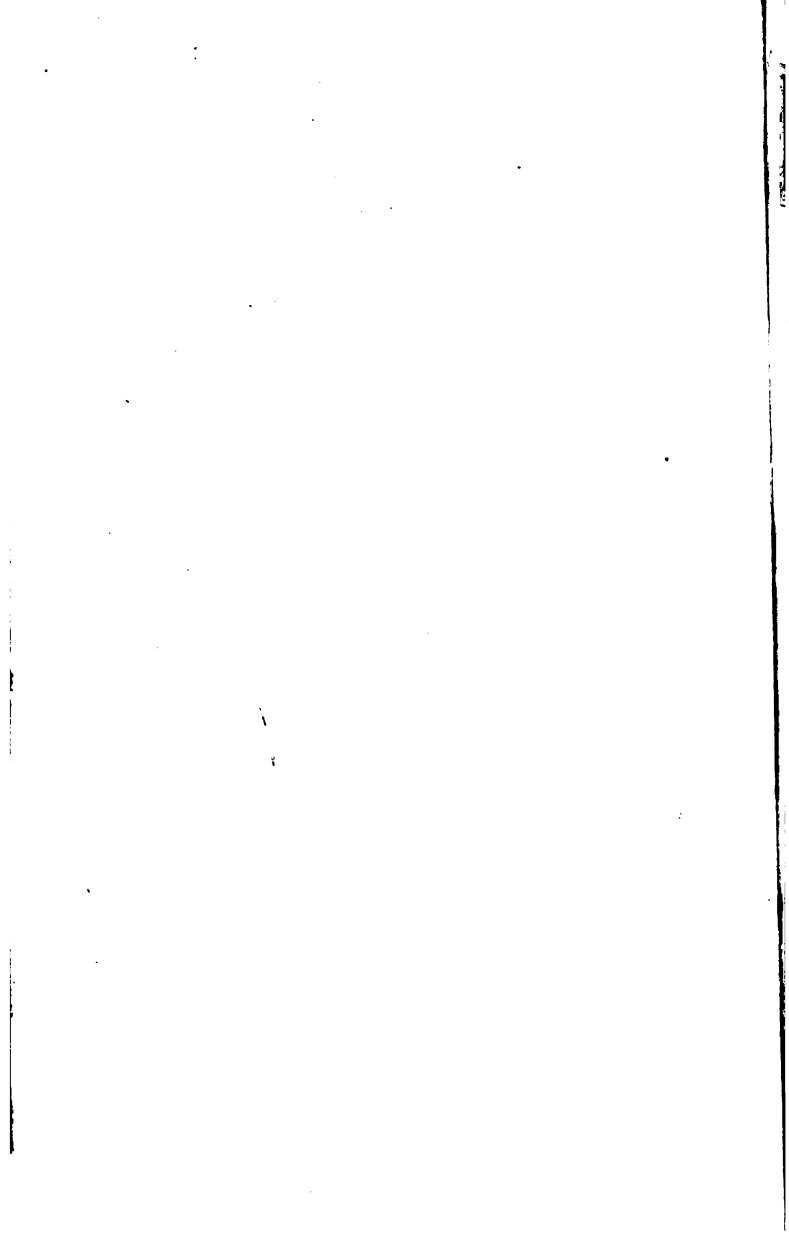
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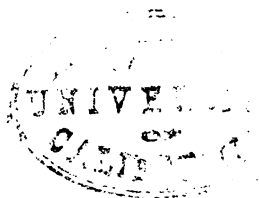




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IMMIGRATION FALLACIES

BY
JOHN CHETWOOD, JR.



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BY
JOHN CHETWOOD, JR.



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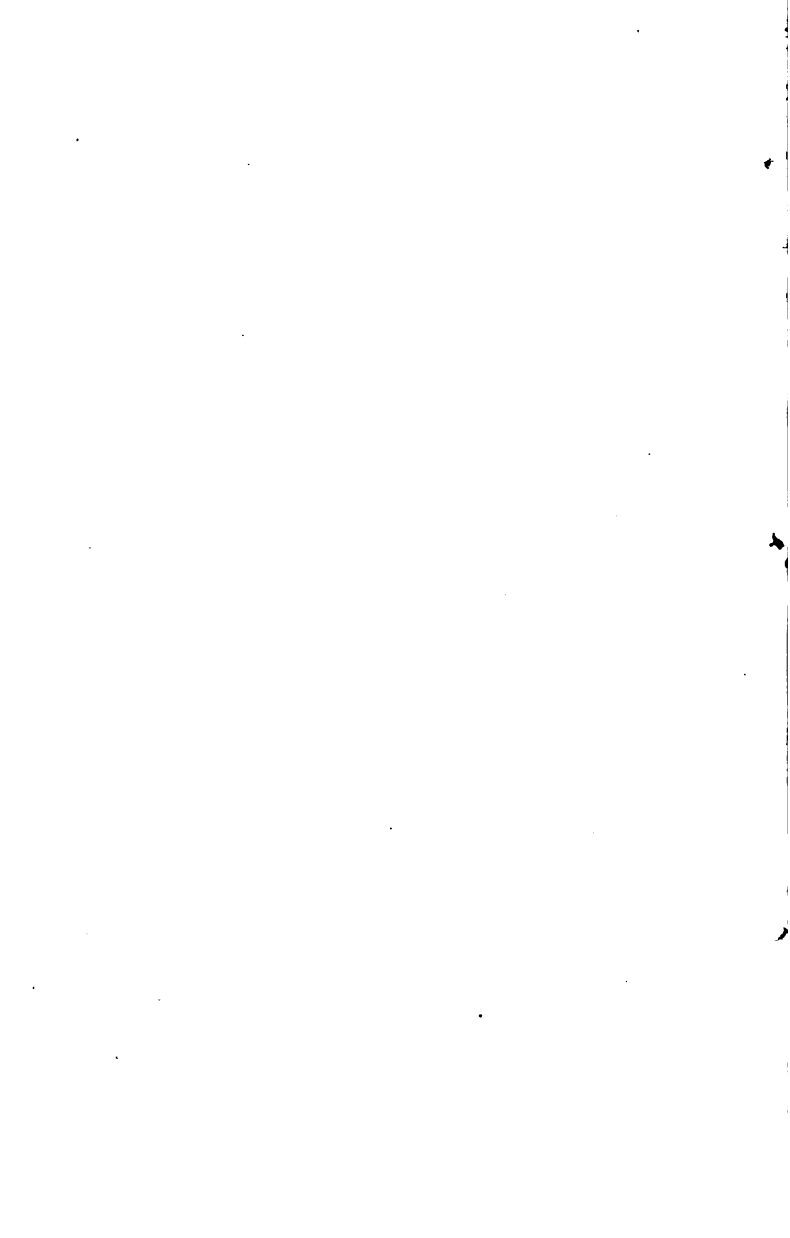
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IMMIGRATION FALLACIES.





IMMIGRATION FALLACIES.

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judicial capacity, and training in self-government. Trial by jury would be impossible in most parts of Europe. Reasons why. In New Orleans it appears that similar reasons made jury trial impossible. Jurymen threatened with death if they convicted accused, and those who threatened had many sympathizers in community. Under circumstances ordinary legal machinery could not work. The international issue. If Italian *officials* sent large numbers of Mafians to this country, what right has Italy to complain that they were not dealt with according to law? *She* never so dealt with them. It was impossible for her, and equally so for us. Extent to which Europe has made us a penal colony for years. *Our* claim to satisfaction and redress..... 124



INTRODUCTORY.

The benefits of immigration are familiar and obvious, but with the drawbacks and dangers the case is different. Some of the latter are below the surface ; the influence of others is indirect and not easy to trace. So far as this little volume tries to trace them its pages—whatever their other shortcomings—ought not to lack interest, but if they do the fault lies with the author and not with the subject. For the influence of the immigrant touches our civilization at every point, and shapes as no other influence can the future of the nation.

In the chapters following, the economic value of immigration is conceded for the sake of the argu-

ment. The objections to it are placed on other, if not higher, grounds. Not that economic objections are lacking. On the contrary, they readily suggest themselves; but with so few reliable data available it is difficult to determine the weight and force of these economic objections.

Immigration discussion and research, confined as a rule to strictly conventional lines, is based on the assumption that, from a material standpoint at least, the immigrant has always been a great boon to our manufacturing and agricultural interests. How far this assumption is well founded, however, is certainly open to question.

Three or four years ago a society in a Western town compiled some statistics that proved quite surprising to the investigators. A circular was sent to several hundred employers of labor, mostly leading

merchants and manufacturers in various sections of the country. One question of the circular was whether the immigration of the last few years had advanced or retarded development in the various lines of industry referred to. The replies to this question were of a nature to awaken much doubt in the minds of the readers whether manufacturing interests would not on the whole and in the long run be better off without any more labor immigration whatever. This attempt to feel the pulse of industry, while not sufficiently extended to be at all conclusive, sufficed to show that estimates of the economic value of the immigrant to the manufacturer might need to be considerably revised.

In the field of agriculture we can no longer ignore the relation borne by an immigration of several hundred thousand per annum to the

rapid increase of population and still more rapid decrease of the public lands. What little remains of the valuable part of the public lands will very soon be gone. That outlet to surplus energy and alleviator of discontent, that great national safety valve, we are already beginning to miss, as witness the increasing congestion in centres of population and the mad rush of the homeless into Oklahoma and the Cherokee Strip.

Such conditions recall Macaulay's prophecy that with the exhaustion of our lands and the pressure of a surplus population will come the real test of our institutions.* Those institutions may

* This prediction of Macaulay, made in 1857 in a letter to an American friend of his, is sometimes misquoted. Macaulay wrote: "As long as you have a boundless extent of fertile and unoccupied land your laboring population will be far more at ease than the laboring populations of the old world. But

prove equal to that or any test in the future as in the past, but is it the part of wisdom to heedlessly hasten the time of that test or to carefully prepare to meet it? Looked at in this way the marvellous growth of the West has in its rapidity an element of danger to the country at large. It is sometimes said that if the great bulk of the immigrants could be diverted from overcrowded cities, mines, and factories to the Western prairies all would be well.

But the objections to the immigrants on the score of their character and numbers still hold good

the time will come when New England will be thickly populated. . . . Wages will be as low and will fluctuate as much with you as with us. You will have your Birminghams and Manchesters, and in these Birminghams and Manchesters hundreds of thousands of artisans will assuredly be some time out of work. Then your institutions will be fairly brought to the test."

to a considerable extent. Immigration from East to West is highly desirable for both sections, and the best class of foreign immigration has great value for the West. But the very large class of low-grade or labor immigration brings no real benefit, and has not done so for many years.

Of course progress in some directions would have been perceptibly slower without it. The population of the country would be some million smaller, and much good work might not have been done. But, on the other hand, we should still have it to do, and we should also have a great deal more land left to till and occupy.

The twentieth century will dawn upon nearly seventy-five million Americans. Their natural increase alone will soon raise the population to a hundred million, and some children now living are

likely to be counted in a census of a hundred and fifty million. Such figures plainly indicate that the present agitation for a change of policy cannot die out for any length of time. The demand for restriction will continue to grow, and the need of it will soon be imperative.

IMMIGRATION FALLACIES.

CHAPTER I.

OUR IMMIGRATION POLICY ; ITS SOCIAL ASPECTS.*

DURING the past few years, public attention has been rather forcibly attracted to the quantity and the quality of our foreign immigration. The searching investigation of the Ford congressional committee of 1888-9 revealed a state of affairs that was far from reassuring. Press and pulpit have agitated for reform. Indeed, a significant change is apparent in the attitude of the press.

* This chapter first appeared in the *Arena*, August, 1890.

Until recently the subject received little consideration, but leading journals now urge with practical unanimity the need of restrictive legislation, and several periodicals in various parts of the country devote themselves almost exclusively to the discussion of immigration and kindred questions.

No doubt to a growing feeling of popular discontent with the present condition of affairs may be attributed the sudden appearance of a new party in the West—a party which advocates radical changes in immigration, naturalization, and the unlimited purchase of land by non-resident aliens.* In fact the signs of the times seem to point to a considera-

* This reference is to the "American Party," some of whose tenets in a modified form are now advocated by the A. P. A. and other similar societies, and also to some extent by all the political parties.

tion or, more accurately, to a reconsideration of the great problem of immigration.

Of course there are various methods in which such a subject may be treated. We may regard it, for instance, from a political standpoint or from a material or economic point of view ; or, as indicated by the character of this article, the question may be considered purely in its social aspects.

It is somewhat important to bear these distinctions in mind, because in past discussions they have been frequently lost sight of. To refute a social objection to immigration the economic argument has been adduced, or else the latter has been calmly cited as if it covered the entire case and conclusively settled further discussion. But manifestly it does not do so. On the contrary, a distinguished writer recently, while conceding the force

of the economic argument, clearly indicated its inconclusive nature. To quote from a magazine article by Hon. Hugh McCullough, the writer referred to: "It is estimated," he says, "that since the foundation of our government more than thirteen millions of immigrants have come to the United States, and that if each brought with him sixty dollars in money the pecuniary gain has been about eight hundred million, but the gain in this respect has been small in comparison with what the immigrants were worth as laborers in the various branches of industry. Estimating them to have been equal in value to the slaves in the Southern States, they have added to our national wealth three times as much as our national debt amounted to at the close of the war!" But the writer goes on most pertinently to remark, the

italics not being his: "What the *offsets* may be to this enormous gain is yet to be determined. The true wealth of a nation is not to be measured by acreage or money, but by the *quality of its people*. If the effects of foreign immigration should prove to be deleterious to the *character of the population* the gain referred to would have been dearly acquired."

These words are most striking and suggestive. The commonweal, which is, after all, but another name for Commonwealth, does *not* depend solely or chiefly on material resources or on the extent of the national domain. Of true national greatness material resources, however important an element, are not the origin or source. The whole history of the human race shows that moral considerations, moral influences and tendencies are far more permanent

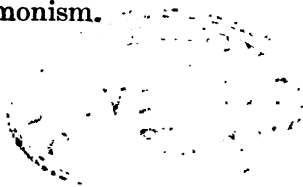
and lasting. Upon the character of the people has national greatness depended in the past ; upon the character of her people does American greatness and American civilization depend to-day.

Such a reflection raises, or should raise, the whole subject of immigration above mere partisan considerations and place it upon a vastly higher and broader plane. What bearing does immigration have upon the character of our people ? What influence does it have in moulding and developing the character of the nation ?

It is not customary to speak of a nation's character in this sense. Yet every nation manifestly has a character of its own as distinct as those of the individuals who compose it. And, to take a step further, we may say without pressing the analogy too far, that as the character of the individual

is shaped and often strengthened by the very obstacles with which his destiny confronts him, the national character is determined very largely by the success of a nation in removing or overcoming the barriers which lie in the path of *its* development, or in other words upon the solution of what are called national problems.

Our own nation's progress and character, for example, obviously depend upon the temper in which we face our national problems and the resolution we display in grappling with them, and a little consideration will show that the relations which immigration bears to certain of these problems assume an importance which can scarcely be overestimated—towards the attitude of labor to capital, for instance, or to purity of the ballot, towards the liquor traffic, or Mormonism.



With regard to Mormonism it might perhaps be hoped that immigration will act to some extent as a corrective of the evil and ultimately aid us in supplanting it. Immigration of the right sort would, no doubt, exert such an influence. Up to the present time, however, it does not appear to have done so. On the contrary, Mormonism, though of native birth, has been nurtured almost entirely upon foreign immigration. The growth and prosperity in this nineteenth century of such an institution, "the twin relic of barbarism," is a phenomenon which has amazed the world and become our national reproach.

For many years we employed against it every agency at our command. But Mormonism continued to baffle all the efforts of government and people. We could not suppress it. It was not

even checked, but continued to expand in various directions, and its adherents increased faster than the "Gentile" population. And why? Because the supply is, or has been, practically inexhaustible, being constantly renewed among the nations of Europe. For the Mormons make few converts in this country except among immigrants lately landed. Their methods and motives are too well known, and education and intelligence are too common. But their agents were for many years busily at work in various quarters of Europe. Thousands of ignorant, unsuspecting foreigners have been inveigled to the West and brought into the fold.

The fact is that Mormonism would have yielded to the force of public opinion much sooner than it did but for the constant accessions from abroad that recruited,

yes, and vastly multiplied its ranks. Recent legislation is supposed to have solved the "Mormon Problem," so far, that is, as legislation can accomplish the task.

But the social and moral evil already incurred is almost incalculable. For years to come it will tax all the resources of church and state to counteract the results of Mormon rule. And anyone who has witnessed the recent growth of Mormonism, and its extension into new territories, may well hazard a doubt as to whether the problem can be entirely solved during the existence of our present system of immigration.

The present relations of capital and labor constitute a grave problem to every civilized nation. Time was when we were disposed to imagine that we should escape most of the dangers and perplexities that arise from a conflict be-

tween them. But the events of the past few years have made us sadder and wiser. During the sessions of the congressional committee in 1888-9, it will be remembered, careful computations made by Mr. Powderly and other leaders among the working-men indicated that an enormous number of laboring men were living in enforced idleness. A million Americans, many of course men of family, were estimated to be out of employment, seeking work and finding none. And the condition of things is not very much better at the present time.

Mr. Powderly attributed this state of affairs very largely to the competition of foreign immigrants. But the proof of such an assertion did not depend upon his statements. The whole drift of the testimony taken before the committee showed in the clearest man-

ner that multitudes of workingmen were being supplanted in various quarters by the hordes of pauper and contract labor. And this iniquitous and unjust competition has been going on for years, with hardly a voice raised till recently in behalf of our unfortunate countrymen.

And yet workingmen have been in many ways such an object of solicitude to our political economists, philanthropists, and statesmen! During the presidential campaign of 1888, both political parties discussed the tariff with special reference to the physical condition of the workingmen. One party urged the advantage of cheap clothes and cheap markets. The other promised high wages to keep Americans from sharing the fate of the underfed laborer of Europe. Meanwhile both parties studiously ignored the rapid in-

crease on our own soil of the underfed individual in question !

Among the audiences that faced the campaign speakers were hundreds, perhaps thousands, of the "unemployed million !" How the professions of the politicians must have savored of mockery to these men ! To them it was not a question of good clothes or good living, but of work or starvation, of life or death. After listening to the arguments they might bitterly have asked, "Is not the *life* more than *meat*, and the *body* than *raiment* ?"

Meantime the tide shows no signs of ebbing. Though fluctuating at intervals it steadily gathers volume with each successive decade. If it continues to rise, what must be the lot of the laboring classes whose welfare is such an object of concern ? Alas for the mischief that has already

been wrought ! Dark enough at best appears to be the future of the American working women, many of whom in large cities are already obliged, it seems, to work for wages that barely suffice to keep body and soul together. We look upon slavery as a thing of the past, but does not unrestricted foreign immigration mean virtual slavery to thousands of our countrymen and countrywomen ?

As for the character and intelligence of this swarm of invaders, does it average higher than our own ? It might perhaps be some compensation if we could think so. But it is impossible to take so sanguine a view. To be able to do so would be far from flattering to our self-esteem. The proportion of the undesirable element is too great. So large an infusion of contract and pauper labor is not likely to raise our standard of in-

telligence and morality. Indeed, among certain recent importations, morality seems conspicuously absent. Notwithstanding our experience with polygamy in the West, we are submitting to the introduction of a system of polyandry in the East, practised by races of men who occupy themselves when opportunity offers in rifling and mutilating the bodies of the dead.*

Besides the direct menace to the individual and the state involved in a continuation of our present policy, another consideration is involved. We have already within our borders a fair supply of anar-

* This was written shortly after the Johnstown flood. From some of the dead victims of that disaster jewelry was torn by bands of savage Hun or Bohemian miners. Large numbers of these people were reported to have a regular organized system of polyandry, with five or ten husbands to one wife.

chists, communists, nihilists, and all that ilk. The Pittsburg and Chicago riots made us painfully aware of their presence and numbers. We have been disposed to assume, however, that we should never share the experiences of foreign governments in dealing with these classes. The conditions here were all so different.

But ever since these riots anarchist and communist have continued to come. And much of our pauper and contract labor and criminal immigration affords an excellent field of labor for the enterprising anarchist or communist. Moreover, a million of unemployed, whether native or foreign, constitute of themselves inflammable and dangerous material in any community. The enemies of all law and government are adepts in manipulating such a material. The conditions of society here, in

fact, no longer differ very widely from those abroad, and each year sees an increasing resemblance between them.

In the municipal growth and development of this country, immigration has always played a most important part. Probably no one deems its influence to have been altogether beneficial. Many of our best and worthiest citizens, judging from their recent utterances, are coming to regard it as practically an unmixed evil. A few extracts from the proceedings of a meeting held in New York, in 1889, may serve to illustrate the sentiment which was even then growing. The object of the meeting was to promote evangelizing the masses, and the list of members, clerical and lay, comprised many representative men.

The distinguished chairman stated, by way of introduction,

that the gathering was not sectarian, but Christian and thoroughly American, and of great importance both to the metropolis and to the nation. Men were being forced to recognize the enormous disproportion of foreigners to natives in the large American cities. No such disproportion existed elsewhere in the civilized world.

In London the proportion of foreign population to native was about two per cent. In the city of New York over eighty per cent of the population was of foreign birth or parentage. To this fact the speaker attributed most of the vice, crime, packed primaries, bribery of voters, bossism in politics, and fraudulent and farcical elections. The addresses that followed were very instructive.

It appears that in 1840 the city contained one Protestant church to every 2,000 people ; in 1880, one

to 3,000 ; in 1888, one to 4,000. In some of the uptown wards, where the best showing was made, one church sufficed for 5,000 people, while there was one saloon to 125 people. The total population of the city was about 1,500,000, and the total membership of the Protestant churches only about 100,000.

These figures ought to have a deep significance not only for Christianity, but for the whole people. Any investigation would show, as the reports of the meeting indicate, that vast amounts of money, time, and labor are expended in ministering to the spiritual, social, and physical needs of the masses of the city. And it might be difficult for a candid and competent observer to disparage either the motives or the methods of those who are thus engaged in laboring for humanity. For much of the work is well organized and

also thoroughly earnest and practical. The outlook, however, must be discouraging even to the most ardent philanthropist. Nor is the situation materially improved by including in our estimates the members of the Roman Catholic communion. Statistics show that in the city of New York the proportion of the adherents of Christianity to the total population is constantly and rapidly diminishing. Not only do the churches fail to make headway, they are rapidly falling behind. It is impossible to make much impression on the dense masses of immigrants who are constantly pouring in. The noble aim of the association of churches is to Christianize and to Americanize the foreign element. Under existing circumstances, success in either direction is, humanly speaking, impossible. While one immi-

grant is being transformed into an American and a Christian, a dozen of his compatriots have arrived to claim the same kind offices. It is like an attempt to cleanse the Augean stables.

Such a comparison does not necessarily involve any disparagement of the new-comers. It does not raise the much vexed question as to how many of them are of a desirable class. It might be frankly conceded for the purpose of argument that nine-tenths of them would furnish good material for American citizenship under favorable circumstances.

But human nature is very much the same with every race, and few men could withstand the evil influences that surround the immigrant landing in one of our large cities. A recent writer who took part in the proceedings of the meeting referred to says :

“Few men appreciate the extent to which they are indebted to their surroundings for the strength with which they resist or do or suffer. All this strength the immigrant leaves behind him. He is isolated in a strange land, perhaps doubly so because of a strange speech. . . . A considerable part of our American-born population are apparently under the impression that the ten commandments are not binding west of the Missouri. Is it strange, then, that those who come from other lands, whose old associations are all broken up, and whose reputations are left behind, should sink to a lower moral level? Across the seas they suffer many restraints which are here removed. Better wages afford larger means of self-indulgence. Often the back is not strong enough to bear prosperity, and liberty too often lapses into

license. Our population of foreign extraction is sadly conspicuous in our criminal records. This element, in 1870, formed twenty per cent of the population of New England and furnished seventy-five per cent of the criminals. That is, it was twelve times as much disposed to crime as the native stock."

Yet it appears that these men, whose associations, moral restraints, and religious ties are all broken up, are in numberless instances inaccessible to the influences of either Christianity or philanthropy. They are practically isolated on account of their vast numbers as well as their natural but unfortunate tendency towards aggregation.

Their situation concerns the state in its sphere as vitally as it does Christianity itself. The interests of society imperatively forbid the segregation of multitudes of people

from the influences and restraints of religion. The most pronounced agnostic or skeptic would hardly hold otherwise. And nothing can be more opposed to the spirit and genius of our institutions than the aggregation of masses of foreigners upon our soil. Our policy has always been just the reverse. Every consideration demands the speediest possible assimilation, in their interest as well as our own.

We stand to-day on the threshold of the second century of our national life. In spite of all drawbacks and mistakes boundless opportunities are before us, and the future is largely in our own hands. In Emerson's inspiring words, "We live in a new and exceptional age. America is another name for opportunity. Our whole history appears like a last effort of the Divine Providence in behalf of the human race."

Some of the nation's problems have already been solved. Various others can and must be solved. For, as Mr. Bryce has recently reminded us in *The American Commonwealth*, our government and our legislation frequently fail, but the people so far have been equal to every emergency in their history.

To verify Emerson's prediction, however, to work out our political destiny and develop the highest type of civilization, a radical change in our system of immigration seems absolutely essential. The instincts of self-protection, not to say self-preservation, require such a change. No human institutions can endure indefinitely the strain which our present policy, if persisted in, will inevitably put upon our social and political life.

If we cannot sift the immigration which is pouring in upon us

from every quarter of the globe—and every effort to do so hitherto has proved abortive—should not a sense of duty and responsibility to ourselves and our children, as well as to the human race, impel us to close the doors entirely for a time, or at least to make the attempt ?

CHAPTER II.

IS IT PRACTICABLE TO REGULATE
IMMIGRATION ? *

IN other words, are not the “expellent influences of Europe,” coupled with “the attractive influences of America,” too strong for us to resist ? A recent exam-

* First published in the *Overland Monthly*, Feb. 1894. No such thought has been apparent in recent discussion. It is generally assumed that immigration evils will be corrected, and various remedies are proposed. But practical men manifest great distrust of the remedies. During a recent debate in Congress an experienced member of the House declared that the present immigration laws are of no practical use, and that the examination of arriving immigrants was a mere farce. In short, the remedies do not reach the disease.

ination of certain congressional records and official documents suggested the disquieting question. In answer, the appended extracts from that record may or may not appear conclusive, but they certainly warrant the question, which in the light of more than fifty years of experiment—and failure—cannot well be deemed premature. Great as the evils of unrestricted immigration are admitted to be, history has yet to record any real restriction. The various barriers erected at Castle Garden and elsewhere do not seem to have deserved the name. They have had about as great an influence over the rising tide of immigration as that which is commonly ascribed to the familiar domestic utensil of Mrs. Partington when applied to the waves of the Atlantic.

The materials for a history of our foreign immigration are

abundant and accessible, needing only to be compiled and arranged. Indeed the full significance of the subject can hardly be estimated until we realize that it has a history, that the difficulties of to-day are practically the difficulties of twenty years ago, of thirty and of fifty years ago, and that these difficulties and the ultimate peril are foreshadowed in the annals of the eighteenth century.

In tracing the record of immigration it would be convenient to divide the past century into two periods of nearly equal length. The evils of immigration and its perplexities were first recognized about 1838, and since that time frequent attempts have been made to discover a suitable remedy. The half century of national existence prior to 1838 witnessed no efforts to regulate and no practical experience with the problem. It

was a period of theory rather than fact, or rather the period when theory preceded fact.

But this period of theory should not on that account be ignored, as it had no small influence on subsequent events. Tradition ascribes to the earlier part of the nineteenth century, or the close of the eighteenth, the origin of several abstract political maxims which have been thought to indicate our true immigration policy and enable America to fulfil her responsibilities to "the human race." According to one of these maxims, the country was destined for the "asylum of the oppressed." Another, still more sweeping in its scope, made it incumbent upon us to be the "refuge of the nations." In this practical age and period of stern fact, it seems odd that these vague generalities should retain much force or vitality, yet they

are constantly to be encountered in current literature.

The age responsible for them, however, was one of protest and revolt. The colonies of Great Britain had furnished a "refuge" and "asylum" for the victims of religious intolerance and political proscription, and such victims America was always to welcome. But to apply to present conditions the terms referred to seems very absurd. And, as has been apparent in recent discussion, it involves a very plain matter in a hopeless confusion of thought. A condition confronts us, not a vague and irrelevant theory. We are now affording an asylum to the insane, to criminals, and to paupers, instead of to the "oppressed" classes of the old world. The word "refuge" has become equally inappropriate. A paper read before a prominent workingmen's associa-

tion some time ago bore the significant title, "The Refuge of the Nations, or the Refuse—which?"

Perhaps one reason for the perennial recurrence of the phrases in question is the possible association they may have in our minds with the great leaders of 1789, with Jefferson, for instance, or Washington himself. No association of the kind could be more misleading, however, or less warranted by facts. While the supposed views of these statesmen may have had considerable weight, their real ideas, although they have a direct bearing upon immigration, have been entirely overlooked.

It is most unfortunate as well as singular that such is the case. For to our Revolutionary era and its teachings we may turn with especial confidence. The signers of the Declaration and the framers of the Constitution did not confine

their attention solely to the need of their own generation. The nature of their task compelled them to anticipate its results, and gave them an almost prophetic insight into the country's future. And so we find the leaders of 1789 debating many questions that have since come to assume great practical importance ; hence the special value of their writings.

Prominent among the questions referred to was that of immigration, and the views of our ancestors on this subject would surprise a generation accustomed to the extreme liberality of the present system. Indeed it is safe to say that in no respect have we made so wide a departure from the principles and traditions of 1789 as in encouraging and permitting indiscriminate foreign immigration.

Not that the problem had then assumed its present proportions.

A century ago the journey from Europe to America occupied almost as many months as it now requires days, and arrivals were numbered by the hundred instead of by the hundred thousand. But the matter very soon became one of anxiety and apprehension, as the writings of Washington,* Hamilton,† Madison, and others clearly reveal. These statesmen evidently favored a very gradual immigration as best adapted to a rapid and complete assimilation. Nor was such a feeling confined by any means to the conservative members of the Federalist party. On the contrary, Thomas Jefferson, the oracle of modern democracy, believed in careful selection and restriction. That great statesman, in fact,

* Sparks' Life and Letters of Washington, vol. xi, pp. 2, 392.

† Works of Hamilton, published by order of Congress, vol. 7, pp. 774-6.

clearly foresaw and predicted some of the very evils which unrestricted immigration has brought in its train.

Perhaps the best way to point the contrast already alluded to between 1789 and 1893 is by aid of the imagination, picturing to ourselves the effect of certain features of our civilization upon the minds of Washington or Jefferson, had they the opportunity to behold them. Were these statesmen to return and visit some of our large cities at the present time they might have reason to think they stood on foreign soil. They could walk for miles through the French quarter, the German quarter, the Italian, Spanish, Bohemian, or Chinese quarters, where a foreign language is actually of more value than their native tongue. Vast "colonies" of these people would appear before their bewildered

eyes, inevitably taking the color of their surroundings, retarding the progress of assimilation, and complicating in every way the moral, social, and political problems of the surrounding community.

Subsequent to the administrations of Washington and Jefferson a considerable period elapsed before immigration claimed or received much attention. Before the discovery and application of steam it had not assumed much practical importance. Some fifty years ago, however, the interest of the people began to awaken, mindful, perhaps, of the forebodings and warnings of a preceding generation.

The real history of immigration, as already stated, may be said to date from 1838, a period midway between our own time and the close of the revolution, and we have no trustworthy record of the

condition of affairs at an earlier date. But in 1838 Congress began a series of examinations into the abuses of immigration and naturalization, which, renewed from time to time, finally culminated in the labors of the Ford committee of 1888-9. With such a record at our disposal it is easy to ascertain the impressions and experience of those of our predecessors who have attempted to grapple with the problem within the period referred to. It seems to be frequently if not generally assumed that only of late years has any considerable portion of our immigration been a positive injury or even a doubtful benefit to the country. Unfortunately facts and figures disclose too plainly the fallacy of such an assumption. A few brief extracts from the first report on the subject will serve to disclose the condition that prevailed more than

fifty years ago, and this report may be taken as a type of its class. It bears, in fact, a strong resemblance to those of a subsequent date, so that only brief portions of the latter need be quoted.

On July 2, 1838, there was submitted to the House the result of the researches of a select committee of that body, prefaced by the following remarks: "To enable the committee to obtain all the information which was accessible the following interrogatories (among others) were propounded to the mayors of the respective cities of New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Charleston, and New Orleans: . . . What proportion of the immigrants bring with them the means of subsisting themselves and families? What proportion are paupers? What proportion of the inmates of poorhouses and penitentiaries are natives?"

From the replies to these and similar questions the committee state: "It is estimated that more than one-half the pauper population, and that the most helpless and dependent, are foreign." The proportion of foreign to native population in the whole country at that time was less than five per cent, but of course this estimate does not apply to the urban population, where, then as now, the foreign element predominated, comprising, however, not more than fifteen per cent of the inhabitants. "In 1838 there were in the almshouse at Philadelphia 1505 Americans and 1266 foreigners; in that at Boston 596 Americans and 673 foreigners. On the twelfth of June, 1837, there were in the almshouse in the city of New York 3074, of which number three-fourths were foreigners, and of 1200 admitted at Bellevue 983 were

aliens ;" while in 1838, "by the report of the resident physician, it appears that of 1209 admitted to his department, only 206 were born in America. In the year ending in August, 1836, there were received into the Boston house of refuge 866 paupers, 516 of whom were foreign. . . . At a recent date it appears that the number of convicts confined at Sing Sing, New York, was 800, of whom 603 were foreigners." A prominent official of New York, who was designated by the mayor to make a report to the commissioners, stated that of the entire number entering the port of New York for the first part of 1838, two-thirds "were without any occupation or even the pretense of one."

During the first three quarters of 1838 no less than 38,057 aliens "who had no occupation" (a very large proportion of the whole

number) "were cast upon the citizens of New York." To the question, How is the expense of the transportation hither of such as are poor defrayed? the answer is, "It is impossible for us to ascertain what number are actually forced or hired to leave their own country, but the superintendent states to me that he has seen one of the passenger ships filled with paupers alone. When entire cargoes have come out it has been ascertained that the parishes have paid their expenses. An English gentleman recently stated that he had seen the poor marched down in droves from the poorhouses to the ships. It is stated on authority that the passages of more than 30,000 persons have been paid in England, Ireland, and Scotland, to enable them to leave there for America."

From the foregoing citations one

is driven to infer that at the period of the first inquiry a large proportion of the immigration was of a highly undesirable class, and that the general prospect was far from pleasing. But despite the agitation which followed and the attempts that were made to improve matters, the lapse of a very few years found similar conditions prevailing. During the session of the twenty-eighth Congress a resolution was introduced in the Senate directing the Judiciary Committee to inquire into the expediency of immediately modifying the naturalization laws to prevent the recurrence of the gross and extensive frauds upon the ballot-box that had recently been perpetrated, and to prohibit the further introduction of paupers and convicts into the United States. Some of the speeches made on this occasion indicate the unmistakable need of

the proposed action. This took place in 1845. In the following year resolutions of a similar purport passed by the Massachusetts legislature were introduced in the House by Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, which led to a protracted and at times heated debate.

Some ten years later the discussion was reopened, and while differences of opinion were manifest as to the proposed methods of securing relief, the existing abuses were freely admitted and a voluminous report was submitted on the evils of foreign immigration, and recommending changes in the naturalization laws. Once more, in 1869 and 1870, the question came up, and Senators Davis, Frelinghuysen, Bayard, Thurman, and others took part in the ensuing debate. Finally we had the investigation of 1888-9. Its revelations are too fresh in the

public mind to need more than a passing allusion. But anyone who may feel disposed to refresh his recollection or comprehend the serious nature of the present outlook will find interesting information in the report furnished by his Representative to Congress on the importation of contract labor.

As has been already intimated, the most casual acquaintance with the records suffices to disabuse the mind of an impression that only recent immigration has been deleterious in its nature. The statistics to the contrary are too clear and circumstantial. For a long time past very many of the immigrants to this land have been unwelcome, unwholesome, undesirable additions to its population. Serious and disturbing, however, as such a conviction must be, there is another consideration involved of vastly greater consequence and

importance. A noticeable monotony pervades the history of immigration. The earliest and latest reports evince a strong, one might say an ominous similarity. In 1838 we had paupers and "assisted" immigrants ; more recently it has been paupers and "contract laborers"—a choice of evils truly !

The real significance of a comparison, therefore, and the real gravity of the problem consist in the fact that *the situation has continued virtually unchanged*, so far, at least, as any efforts on our part are concerned. And whatever changes have occurred in the character and volume of immigration from time to time have been for the worse and not for the better. A steady increase in quantity has attended a perceptible deterioration in quality. The committee of 1838 were justified in stating that their report "presented a combination of

facts that cannot fail to arrest the attention of the American people and to establish the necessity of immediate legislative action." "Legislative action" was taken repeatedly then and at subsequent times. But so partial and temporary has been the relief afforded that the committee of 1888-9 found the condition of affairs to be about the worst in our history.

What has been accomplished since that report? Measures designed to afford some relief were passed by Congress during the session of 1891, although without adequate appropriations to enforce them, and various individuals have been debarred from landing. But by this time we are well aware that the undesirable classes are not numbered by units or tens, but by hundreds and by thousands. Will further legislation reach the latter? No question can have a

more direct and immediate bearing on American civilization.

The law lately passed (March, 1893) is open to very serious objections. Some of its provisions have been tried and found wanting. When the bill in its present form came up for passage in the House all the remarks made, with but a single exception, indicated lack of confidence in the proposed remedy. One speaker lamented that the bill went so short a distance in the direction it professed to go. Another member, thoroughly familiar with the subject, said, in summing up the defects of the bill, that it was not worth passing. But even were adequate laws passed, the question of vital import to the country is, whether such laws will be enforced and made effective.* Many stringent

* Some of the bills before the present Congress (1896) are much in advance of those of

regulations appear in the annals of immigration, but no radical or permanent reform has ever been effected. Agitation, legislation, superficial and temporary improvement, recurrence of the evil when public attention is diverted, about describe the situation.

Perhaps the exclusion of the Chinese may be instanced as one exception in the long list of failures to regulate immigration. Chinese exclusion is somewhat of a misnomer, as the constant arrivals from Mexico and British Columbia plainly bear witness. That the entrance of the Chinese has been greatly checked, however, may freely be conceded. Restrictive laws were framed at last that seem to have met the test of constitutionality. But it required

the last one. But whether they will become laws and whether they be rigidly enforced is another question.

(1) a struggle of years on the part of a whole section of the country that was (2) practically a unit on the Chinese question. And then (3) the Chinamen had no vote.

No treatment of the subject would be complete without at least a passing reference to the published report of the special Treasury commissioners who were detailed to investigate abroad the mysterious influences that underlie the present criminal and pauper immigration from Europe. The same papers that published some time ago outlines of this report contained also accounts of the united efforts of press and pulpit in New York City to reform and purify the social and political atmosphere. Much stress is laid in the commissioners' report upon the organized system and combination to transport beg-

gars, criminals, and imbeciles to this country, in which foreign officials are largely implicated. This, however, is no new thing. The "*friendly*" governments of Europe have engaged for years in this work, and are responsible in no small degree for the social condition of our large cities, although when these social conditions precipitate an outbreak like that at New Orleans, the same governments manifest much surprise as well as horror at the occurrence.

This commissioners' report does not contain any especially novel features, though it indicates the persistence and deep-rooted nature of the evil. It is referred to here because in the columns of the press it stood in such striking antithesis to the accounts of the union of press and pulpit to promote municipal reform. In an article pub-

lished three or four years * ago the writer endeavored to show that many of the greatest industrial and social problems of our generation—intemperance, Mormonism, etc.—are traceable largely, in some cases almost entirely, to unrestricted immigration. The past and present character of that immigration, revealed in the official record and in this latest report, shows too plainly why its influence on intemperance, polygamy, the relations of capital and labor, has been so profound and so pernicious, to say nothing of the more obvious effects upon pauperism, insanity, and crime.

And the injury will continue and increase until the character of our immigration is *radically* changed. The municipal reform of our large cities, in particular,

* The article is reprinted as chapter I of the present work.

recently advocated so earnestly, cannot make much headway while thousands of criminals, paupers, and contract or unskilled laborers continue to pour in. As was suggested in the former article referred to, the undertaking of various proposed municipal reforms, without reckoning with the chief cause of the trouble, resembles an attempt to cleanse the stables of Augeas, with the difference, it may be added, that while the stables were cleaned by turning on the stream, our cities may be cleaned when it is turned off.

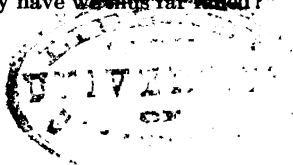
Is it practicable to regulate immigration, and if so, why have we thus far failed ?

CHAPTER III.

IMMIGRATION AND THE RISE OF THE
A. P. A.*

THE late Matthew Arnold, certainly no partial critic, was once pleased to say, that in political affairs, as a rule, we Americans possessed the faculty of "thinking clear and seeing straight." If there has been any exception to this rule—from the tendency of a certain school of thought to obliquity of mental vision—the subject of this paper will suggest the exception.

* This chapter might also be entitled "Why we Fail to Regulate Immigration," in answer to the question of last chapter: "Why have we thus far failed?"



Not that the question of immigration, broadly considered, is necessarily intricate. In complexity it does not compare with the tariff, nor, in perplexity, to the average male mind, with the "woman question" and the attitude of some of its exponents. But much has been said and written having a direct tendency to confuse the real issue. Of this tendency recent discussion affords abundant illustration.

Those vague abstractions, for example, which refer to America as the "refuge of the nations," "the asylum of the oppressed," etc., enjoy a charmed life. It seems vain to point out that such venerable maxims apply to conditions that have wholly passed away. To invoke them now is to try to transform a question of statesmanship into one of sentiment. But even on sentimental

grounds they are singularly unsuited to present conditions. When earnest and sincere philanthropists urge the claims of the immigrant to hospitality and charity, they do so oftentimes at the expense of those having prior and much stronger claims—that is, if charity is to begin at home. They plead, these philanthropists, that immigration is a law of nature, not pausing to reflect that self-preservation is the first of nature's laws.

4 The persistent treatment of immigration as simply or chiefly an economic factor in our civilization, is likewise to be noted. It is only now coming to be recognized as primarily a political and social question having intimate relations not only with pauperism, anarchy, crime, etc., but with Mormonism, the social evil, intemperance, labor agitation, municipal evils, ecclesiastical misconceptions, etc., etc.

Perhaps we may ultimately come to feel that immigration is the problem of problems, concerning nearly all of these other questions generally, many closely, not a few vitally.

Attention has also been drawn recently to the fact that no permanent reform of immigration is on record, a fact which indicates that its practical difficulty has been and still is greatly underestimated and that the teachings of history have been forgotten. Extracts from the official records recently cited * show how attempted reforms have failed, and how in spite of them all a constant *increase* in the quantity of immigration has kept pace with a constant *decrease* in the quality.

* In an article entitled, "Is it Practicable to Regulate Immigration?" in the *Overland Monthly* for February, 1894. See Chapter II, *ante*, p. 46.

For years of effort to regulate immigration to end in virtual failure is a very serious fact. The fact is here referred to, however, not because of its gravity, but because this failure, or rather series of failures, naturally suggests the question, whether regulation is possible by *any ordinary methods*, or by methods that have hitherto proved so inadequate, and whether, in assuming the contrary, *there is no liability of further error*. What gives so much interest to the question at this juncture is the rise and sudden growth of that singular order, which is attracting attention on all sides and evoking such varied comment, the American Protective Association.

This Association may or may not have an answer to the inquiry, whether regulation is possible by ordinary methods, and on this point the writer, not being a mem-

ber of the order, cannot speak with certainty. But it is fair to presume that it has a negative answer, that its very existence is an assumption that ordinary measures will not suffice, and that extraordinary ones are essential. Whether all the objects of this and similar associations are commendable, all their methods legitimate, is nothing to the present purpose. The special significance of the movement consists in the evident belief of a large number of people that real reform is impossible under existing conditions without *some* form of organization. Let us see if this belief is not well founded.

The conditions which have thwarted all previous efforts to stem the tide of immigration, or to control it, seem to be partly political, partly social. It is of course impossible to enlarge upon

them or treat them separately. To do so would involve considering, among other things, our extraordinary naturalization laws and their influence on immigration. But, roughly speaking, the effects of both political and social conditions are readily traceable, working together among the various forces arrayed for or against reform. The strength of the opposition is better appreciated if the numerical superiority of the reformers is taken into account. On the side of reform is doubtless ranged a large majority of the American people, who favor a change, and their sentiment is growing more and more outspoken.

For it is becoming keenly felt that the pressure of population into our chief cities, so largely due to immigration, is driving masses of people into the most abject

poverty, the borderland of beggary and crime. In many sections East and West a blight has fallen on the mining regions, lower and lower strata of humanity taking the places of higher ones, a signal instance of the survival of the unfittest, according to our notions of government and social welfare. And some of the mining riots and outbreaks of the past three years in various parts of the land have brought to the surface wondrous types of savagery.

All this is felt to be wholly wrong. It runs directly counter to the instincts of the race—those practical instincts which so impressed Matthew Arnold. In importing horses, cattle, and even poultry, we legislate to some effect, sparing no pains to strengthen and improve the native breeds. Why should we deal so differently with the breed on which the future

hangs? Why weaken or contaminate the breed of men?

Discontent with the existing order of things is by no means confined to the members of the A. P. A.* But unhappily the general

* The platform of the Republican party in California, adopted at Sacramento, June 20, 1894, contains these provisions among its planks: "The public schools should be non-sectarian in their character and conduct. We are opposed to any division of the school money for any purpose or to any sect." "We are in favor of amending our naturalization laws so that no one can become a citizen who is not of good repute," etc. "We recognize that the present naturalization laws are weak in their provisions and defective in their administration, and should be changed by appropriate legislation so as to place additional and better safeguards around American citizenship. We believe the time has come when the nation must take a firm and decided stand against the incursion of the underpaid and ignorant laborers of the old world that are flocking here now in such numbers as to drive the American laborer from his work, with the increasing result, as seen at the present

sentiment in favor of a change is or has been *unorganized*; and furthermore, the majority of the reform element have *no direct personal or pecuniary interest* at stake. On the contrary, the corporations, syndicates, trusts, and other forces working against reform are in many cases organized, and have pecuniary interests of great magnitude at stake. The great lines of transportation, both to and through this country, are totally indifferent to the *quality* of their human freight. With them it is solely a question of quantity, so long as they keep within the letter of the law and do not have to support or deport their passengers.

time, of causing disturbances in the manufacturing centres of the country, reducing the price of labor," etc. "We demand the enactment and strict enforcement of such laws as will absolutely and effectually prohibit the immigration of all labor, both skilled and unskilled.

As to the multitude of steamship or immigration society agents whom a recent Congressional committee unearthed in Europe, these gentry actually prefer a poor quality of immigration. For, of course, the lower the object of their solicitation is in the scale of intelligence, the easier it is to hoodwink and cozen him, or at least inveigle him into buying a ticket. The pressure of the times just now interferes with this business, but if past experience be a guide, we may expect other committees to find the agents at work again, industriously plying their avocation in every quarter of Europe.

In the same class with the agents are the "padrones" and bosses of the large cities. A self-respecting, intelligent, or independent immigrant is just the man they do not want. Anything that will pass for a man and be speedily

convertible into a voter is much to be preferred. From his helplessness tribute is easily levied, and once a voter he becomes part of the foreign machine vote, raising his master, the padrone, to a full-fledged boss.

The character and strength of the opposition to a change of the present system is not, cannot be, realized by the people. If it were, there would be fewer suggestions of reform based on legislation alone. We know something of the difficulty of effecting any reform, even when it is demanded by public opinion and a dominant political party as well, when pitted against great aggregations of wealth. Many a reform has been worsted in the encounter. Recent congressional proceedings furnish at least one striking illustration.*

* When these words were written the failure of Congress to enact radical tariff

How then can we expect that immigration reform, favored by public opinion only, will achieve any great or lasting victory in the halls of national legislation? Only one side of the question will be ably presented to Congress, the side of the transportation and manufacturing companies that wish unlimited immigration or cheap labor—the side also of the agent, the padrone, and the municipal boss, whose machine, were immigration to cease for a time, would surely become unmanageable.

When occasion calls, representatives of these interests appear before congressional committees, as they have a constitutional right to do. They seize the opportunity

reform, though elected for that express purpose, had just occurred. Public sentiment seems to have since changed, but it was none the less disobeyed by the last Congress.

to point out through the ablest agents and counsel the defects of this proposed measure, the hardships of that ; and they descant on the great exaggeration of immigration abuses.* But who is at hand to speak for the people at large, or to plead the grave economic, political, social, moral, and patriotic objections to the present system ?

For this question is pre-eminently patriotic, and it affects the whole nation. It is sometimes assumed that a republic is better fitted to

* And the difficulty of enforcing stringent laws seem even greater than the difficulty of passing them. In every Congressional debate allusion is made to the laws which remain dead letters. And every investigation, like that of the Knights of Labor two or three years ago, points to the same conclusion. On every ship and at every port there are many whose pecuniary interests are to evade restrictions and smooth the landing of the unfit, and none at hand whose interests are to oppose them.

absorb and assimilate heterogeneous elements of population than a monarchy or an empire. But the important point is not so much what can be absorbed, as what the result of the absorption will be. In the long run a republic is more nearly affected by the character of its population than any other form of government, for the reason that it is or aims to be a government of and by, as well as for, the people. Consequently its character depends as much on the character of the people as the character of the people can possibly depend on a republican form of government. To few if any other nations can it be so important to have the right material for citizenship as it is to the United States. And every immigrant steamer landing at our docks to-day, as for years past, tends to lower our standards of intelligence, industry, and moral-

ity. To hold otherwise, in view of the character of immigration as disclosed by the records, would not be flattering to self-esteem.

In view of the moral principle underlying the whole matter, the mill-owner of New England, the manufacturer of Pennsylvania, or the mine-owner of the West who will not scruple to import a swarm of ignorant, degraded, and perhaps utterly vicious human beings into any community can be no real lover of his race or country. Pauper, contract, coolie, low-grade, or even indiscriminate immigration ought to have no place on our soil ; certainly no American should aid, abet, or connive at it. It is a contest of mammonism against philanthropy and patriotism, analogous in that respect to the slavery issue as viewed from the Northern standpoint. Whoever imports labor to pauperize or supplant his

own countrymen by birth or adoption, or who brings an element into any community without regard to its grade of intelligence and civilization, does the greatest wrong, not merely to the community immediately concerned, but to the whole people.

Nor is there any undoing of the mischief. When defective armor is placed on a vessel built for national defense and honor, it can be removed on detection. That great wrong is at least remediable. But the dangerous classes can never be removed. They must stay and spread and multiply in the country of their adoption.

So far as the American Protective Association is concerned, it must in justice be credited with standing for rigid laws of immigration and a strict enforcement of them, and this applies to other kindred or somewhat similar or-

ders. As much may not be said of any of the great political parties. They cannot "point with pride" to their immigration records. And it is safe to say that, left to themselves, they never will be able to. History negatives the hope, and so do the conditions. Reasoning inductively, therefore, or deductively, we reach the same conclusion. Some compact organization of sufficient strength and fixity of purpose to mould public opinion, to shape legislation, and to help enforce it, seems essential.

But a great many people who might accept this reasoning will perhaps be inclined to eye askance these reform organizations on account of their alleged bigotry, intolerance, etc. It is urged that the remedy is worse than the disease, and that the A. P. A. is merely a disguised form of Know-Nothingism. Here we touch de-

batable ground. This, in fact, is a vital point in the present dispute, but so much controversy hinges on it that a passing reference might not seem out of place, even if it involve a slight digression.

In the first place, it is pertinent to point out that Know-Nothingism is a very elastic term. It is applied in reproach to those whose views on immigration, naturalization, etc., are fanatic, and whose methods of enforcing them are proscriptive. As one result of the reaction against the extreme opinions of the old Know-Nothing party, every speaker or writer who drew attention to abuses of naturalization, immigration, or the public-school system assumed an apologetic attitude. He feared to be called a Know-Nothing. Recent agitation, however, has brought about a change. Very plain language can now be used without

opening the door to this charge. In this respect it seems generally conceded that, however erroneous the views of the last generation, the men of this one have somewhat similar and by no means unfounded grounds for complaint and apprehension.

But even if the American Protective Association is in effect a revival of Know-Nothingism in the old form, such repeating of history cannot be causeless. These periodic outbreaks of Americanism or Know-Nothingism, as they may be differently regarded, must have some reason for being.

In view of the number and character of their sympathizers, however, they would be unaccountable, had the great questions that underlie them ever received firm and judicious treatment. Would there be no plausibility in a claim in behalf of the American Protect-

ive Association that its existence to-day is due solely to the superficial treatment accorded immigration and kindred evils during the last thirty years, to the fallacies, some of them herein referred to, that have obscured the issue, and to the efforts in various quarters to make light of the injury and the peril to the country? These questions certainly are pertinent, if in the heat of controversy they can be asked and answered in the right spirit.

Of course it is perfectly clear that any excesses, whether caused or induced by existing societies, will provoke the inevitable reaction. That should go without saying. But if this reaction comes, and involves a return to another long term of inaction or half-hearted measures, it might well be asked whether in the end the country will not suffer more than the de-

feated reformers. The old Know-Nothing movement was indeed a failure, but has it been a more conspicuous failure than our subsequent policy of immigration ?

CHAPTER IV.

OUR UNNATURAL LAWS OF NATURALIZATION.

SOME years ago a flagrant evasion of the law forbidding importation of contract labor was drawn to the writer's attention. That law had been in force for several years, and the press was daily exposing the abuses of immigration. It was at the height of this agitation that a Northwestern railway happened to need additional labor to extend the lines of its system. The manager of a line of European steamers was interviewed in the interest of the road, and a proposal was made for the transport of foreign workmen under contract. The rates asked, however, were a

little too high, being, it is said, eight dollars per head. But the rate was afterwards adjusted with a rival line, and fourteen thousand peasants of sunny Italy were shipped to the Western prairies.

In the third year after this coup, the important fall elections of 1890 were held. Returns from Montana were delayed. So closely divided between the two old parties did the United States Senate appear, that Montana was thought to hold the balance of power, and the result of her vote was awaited with the gravest interest. After quite an interval the expectant country learned the cause of the delay. The vote of the state depended on the result in certain precincts of Silver Bow district. In that locality, according to the dispatches, not one of the voters could read or write, and wholesale fraud had reigned—though under the cir-

cumstances this latter piece of information might be deemed somewhat gratuitous.

The foregoing incident made such a stir at the time as to merit fuller details than those supplied by the Associated Press. It would have been gratifying to know some things about those illiterate voters, their nationality, for instance, and how long they had been domiciled among us. Were they of the fourteen thousand Italians landed in 1888, and, in 1890, shaping the destiny of the republic ; socially, serfs in all but the name ; politically, American sovereigns ?

But whether they hailed from Italy, Hungary, Slavonia, or elsewhere does not affect the principle involved. Owing to the lax enforcement of the law in some states, and in many others to the reckless shortening of the time of probation, bands of European peasantry, land-

ing to-day and remaining for many years as ignorant of our language and institutions as of the meaning of self-government, may yet decide the vote of a pivotal state in a presidential year or determine the political complexion of Congress, and all this within two or three years of their landing. The Montana case is not exceptional, but typical on account of the volume and character of immigration—restrained of late by economic, *not* legislative barriers—and of the unbounded liberality with which we bestow the elective franchise.

So far as immigration is concerned, and its persistent abuses, our experience with contract labor is a striking illustration. That particular form of the evil was singled out as the object of special legislation. Men of all parties and the most opposite views have condemned it. Yet what has been

accomplished in the way of reform ? The contract labor laws date from 1882 and 1885, yet as late as the summer of 1894 the hapless condition of the contract laborer provoked a great indignation meeting in Boston. In May, 1893, in a report to the Treasury Department on this same class of labor, the Immigration Inspector made use of the following vigorous language: "The padrone system is the most outrageous and injurious to American workingmen of any system that ever was practised in the United States. And there is no denying the fact that it exists in almost every city in this country where there is an Italian colony." In this report is a description of the way in which laborers are coached on shipboard and so prepared on landing to baffle our inspectors by judicious perjury. Just at present, it seems, the railroad contract-

ors do not require as close watching as "bankers and padrones," "who between them supply laborers in hundreds to work on our railroads to the exclusion of American workmen."

With regard to the exclusion of various other undesirable classes, the laws passed in response to the popular agitation of the past eight years have been fitly characterized on the floors of Congress as falling so far short of the mark as to be of very little value. And this outcome in the light of history should not be surprising. From a recent article reviewing experimental legislation of more than half a century, a chronicle of failure is unfolded by which it appears that despite all barriers the immigration tide has steadily increased in quantity and decreased in quality.*

* "Is it Practicable to Regulate Immigration?" ending with the question,

As to the naturalizing process, for an illustration only too familiar, witness the scenes in our large cities on the eve of an important election. Under the stress of party competition the machinery of the courts is quickened to the utmost extent, and turns out new citizens by thousands after the most perfunctory examination. And in the heat of a campaign the press often applauds this menace to civilization. The author of "The American Commonwealth," reputed a most

"Why have we thus far failed?" *Overland Monthly*, February, 1894; Chapter II, *ante*. Nobody has ever tried to answer this question, but is not a prime cause of the failure traceable to the fact, as set forth in Chapter II, that the general sentiment in favor of reform is comparatively *unorganized and has no direct personal or pecuniary interest at stake*, while the great corporations, syndicates, trusts, and other forces arrayed against reform are organized, and have pecuniary interests of great magnitude at stake?

competent as well as friendly authority, remarks :

“The immigrants vote after three or four years’ residence at most, and often less, but they are not fit for the suffrage. They know nothing of the institutions of the country, of its statesmen, of its political issues. . . . Incompetent to give an intelligent vote, but soon finding that their vote has a value, they fall into the hands of party organizations whose officers enroll them in the lists and undertake to fetch them to the polls. I was taken to watch the process of admitting to citizenship in New York. Drove of squalid men who looked as if they had just emerged from an emigrant ship, and had perhaps only done so a few weeks before, for the law prescribing a certain term of residence is frequently violated, were brought up to the magistrate by the ward agent of

the party which had captured them, declared their allegiance to the United States, and were forthwith placed on the roll. Such a sacrifice of common sense to abstract principles has seldom been made by any country. Nobody pretends that such persons are fit for civic duty or will be dangerous if kept for a time in pupilage, but neither party will incur the odium of proposing to exclude them.”*

* A prominent senator of the United States is of record in Congress as saying: “Of two portentous perils that threaten the safety, if they do not endanger the existence of the republic, one is ignorant, debased, degraded suffrage, suffrage contaminated by the sewerage of foreign nations.” Within the last two years the same statesman has publicly declared: “Many of our economic and social difficulties arise from the presence of undesirable elements among our people that should have been excluded. The bulk of our anarchists, socialists, and malcontents,” etc., “are foreigners who should have remained at home. And yet such is

What a spectacle these scenes in New York, what an object-lesson to the native-born voter attaining manhood! Why preach to him so constantly the duty of citizenship, why extol the dignity and privilege of American suffrage, when he can see in any large city that suffrage so unutterably cheapened and degraded, and oftentimes thrust upon the very dregs of society? The contrast between our theory and our practice is entirely too glaring.

But on this topic far more telling than any personal opinion may be the words of the men transformed so summarily into Amer-

the pusillanimity of our politics that, notwithstanding the admitted dangers of unrestricted immigration, all parties forbear to deal with the question and shrink from radical and drastic measures for fear of the foreign vote. That makes cowards of us all!" If this applies to immigration, it of course holds equally good of naturalization.

ican voters. At the time of the Mafia tragedy in New Orleans, *L'Elvezia*, a Swiss-Italian paper in a large Western city, contained the following striking indictment of the naturalization laws. After alluding to the general outcry of Italians in this country as perfectly natural, it is pointed out, as a singular feature in the case, "that persons who had voluntarily adopted American citizenship have brought themselves forward to ask the intervention of the government they had renounced against the people and the authority of the country of their adoption." This raises the question, "whether it would not be proper for the United States to modify its laws of naturalization." This question is answered in this wise :

"For our part, we do not hesitate to declare emphatically that they ought to be modified. Any-

one who examines even superficially the mode in which naturalization takes place, easily convinces himself that the great majority of those who acquire American citizenship do not comprehend the gravity of the act they accomplish. At the moment of their arrival in the United States the immigrants are taken in hand by professional politicians who persuade them that it is to their greatest interest to make themselves citizens. Very many of the new arrivals are illiterate people who come direct from their villages in Europe, who know nothing of the customs, nor of the laws, nor of the institutions of this country, and who in perfect good faith believe all that persons interested in the creating of voters tell them. And so they become citizens.

“Well now, tell these persons that with the declaration they have

made they have renounced their own government and belong no longer to the land of their birth, and they will laugh in your face. They have never intended to renounce their native country, and they never will do so. But how they can reconcile the contradiction of being at the same time citizens of two nations, God alone may be able to divine. Naturally there are those who become American citizens comprehending perfectly the nature of the step,"—enumerating various classes. But "these are the great minority. We intend to speak of the others. These are not and cannot become good American citizens. Interrogate them and you will find that all, if they succeed in obtaining a modest competency, intend to return to their natal land. Speak to them in the language of the land of their adoption and they will

stammer unintelligible words. Seek to discover whether they know anything of the institutions of the United States, and, even though they may have remained here for five, ten, or twenty years, they will show themselves ignorant of the most elementary things. Political aspirations they cannot have, because they are illiterate. What kind of citizens can they be? For the most part they are honest people; they are excellent workers; they obey the laws; but as citizens they are simple tools in the hands of those who establish their influence over them to obtain their votes.

“This is sufficient to demonstrate that a law that admits such a class of citizens needs to be amended. It is not only five years’ residence that we should like to see required, but ten, if not a greater number, and further-

more upon the express condition that the aspirant should know how to read and write, and should know the fundamental principles upon which is based the political edifice of the country he intends to adopt. This is not a question that relates to one nationality rather than another. It regards all immigrants, and if *L'Elvezia* shall have been able to throw any light upon it, contributing even in the slightest manner to bring about a remedy for a state of affairs so abnormal as not to be found in any other nation, it will feel that it has performed something not entirely useless for this country."

The foregoing extract was translated into English and published in a leading paper of the Pacific coast, which added, editorially, that its words might well put to shame some of our native-born politicians. The editorial com-

ment of this latter paper is also quoted, because, as a pronounced partisan organ, it is not likely to magnify naturalization abuses, while its outspoken arraignment of the law foreshadows a change in public sentiment that gives the best promise of reform :

“ We recently called attention to the insufficiency of a five-year probation to give the present immigration a sense of American nationality, or remove from the immigrants their feeling of loyalty to and dependence upon the flag they have renounced. Our views startled the timid, who are afraid of votes for the sake of office and power, but we struck a responsive chord in the hearts of all true American citizens, native and alien born. It is strange that the cowards and time-servers fail to understand that every immigrant who came here from proper mo-

tives agrees that indiscriminate immigration, with no intelligent conception of the dignities of citizenship in a free country, is the surest means of destroying liberty, ruining its institutions, and degrading the nation that was intended to be the theatre on which the greatest free society on earth should perpetually exploit its genius and uphold the rights of man. The American may take lessons from many an old immigrant who came to seek freedom as more precious than bread. The time has come to make more difficult the road to American citizenship. That citizenship cost lives and fortunes. It was wrought out in battle, colored with the blood of patriots, and fashioned by hands that were hardened by the use of the sword drawn in combat for human rights. Yet this prize so hard-won is bestowed upon men

who did not earn it, and who do not appreciate it, with no more ceremony than is lavished on taking a glass of wine. The ceremony of naturalization should be so impressive and the approach to it so difficult that the man who comes as a candidate for this gift we offer to him will feel as if he were being born again. We print from an Italian paper an editorial on this subject which may well put many a native politician to shame. We commend its calm reasoning and indisputable statement of facts to the timid and cowardly who are afraid to discuss naturalization reform. No other nation, free or not, squanders its privileges as does ours. They are nowhere else bestowed upon those who don't ask for them as they are here, and nowhere else are they permitted to those unfit for them as they are here."

From widely different quarters have the foregoing selections been presented, and in view of their source the opinions expressed cannot be termed radical or extreme. In fact, exaggeration would be difficult. From change of conditions our naturalization laws have become an absurdity and an enormity. And the first and best hope of reform lies in realizing the imperative need of it. Obviously this topic, if it is to be discussed at all, cannot be fingered delicately, after the manner of politicians on the eve of election. On the contrary, it must be taken out of and above the plane of "practical politics," and one feature of the law should make that removal its object.

The theory upon which the naturalization laws are based was well suited to the condition of affairs in this country, A. D.

1802. That is the date of the law prescribing five years' residence for the alien who would be a voter. At that time not only was the character of immigration much higher than now, but its volume was comparatively insignificant. We had no large cities, no bosses, no colonies, and no process by which the immigrant could be kept from any Americanizing influence. Taken as a unit into the current of political and social life, he ceased to be a foreigner in five years, and a "foreign vote" was unheard of. In short, the naturalization laws of 1802 were originally as wise as they were liberal, a proof of the political genius of their day and generation.

To-day those same laws are not only an anachronism, but a source of great and growing peril. At

least ten years after his landing should expire before the present immigrant can be entitled to the ballot, for legislation must always be for masses, not for individuals. As things now are, however, there is no uniformity in the law, and five years is the *maximum* limit of restriction. A great many states actually lessen this scant period of probation. This is accomplished by state legislation providing that all persons who are citizens of the United States *or have declared their intention to become citizens*, may vote at all elections after the brief residence set forth in the following table.

So far as the declaration of intention is concerned, Section 2165, United States Revised Statutes, the law of the case, prescribes a five years' residence for citizen-

ship, and that the applicant shall declare on oath before a court of record "two years prior to his admission that it is *bona fide* his intention to become a citizen." "Two years at least prior to his admission," is decidedly elastic. It may equally well be three, four, or five years prior to admission. In fact, there is no reason why an immigrant should not declare his intention the day he lands, or the day he reaches any of the following list of states, or why he should not make the declaration at any time during the brief period of residence that the laws of these states have enacted. Consequently, the alien in such states is entitled to the full privileges of citizenship at the end of the times respectively indicated below :

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STATES GIVING POWER TO VOTE IN ONE YEAR OR LESS.*

—	Qualification of Voters.	RESIDENCE.		
		State.	County.	Precinct.
Alabama ..	Declaration of Intention..	1 year.	3 mos.	30 days.
Arkansas..	" " ..	1 " 6	" 6	30 "
Colorado...	" " ..	6 mos.	90 days.	10 "
Florida....	" " ..	1 year.	6 mos.	.....
Indiana	" " ..	6 mos.†	.....	30 days.
Kansas.....	" " ..	6 mos.	.....	30 "
Louisiana..	" " ..	1 year.	6 mos.	30 "
Minnesota..	" " ..	4 mos.†	10 days.	10 "
Missouri...	" " ..	1 year.	60 "	.....
Nebraska ..	" " ..	6 mos.	40 "	10 days.
N. Dakota .	" " ..	1 year.	6 mos.	90 "
Oregon.....	" " ..	6 mos.†	.....	.....
S. Dakota..	" " ..	6 mos.	6 mos.	30 days.
Texas.....	" " ..	1 year.	6 "	.....
Wisconsin..	" " ..	1 "	.....	10 days.
Wyoming .	" " ..	1 " ‡	30 days.	.....

The time of residence in the foregoing states is, of course, grossly inadequate. It is well adapted to bring the law into contempt. As for allowing aliens to

* Compiled from the "Economist and Statistician" for 1895-6, with two or three minor corrections.

† One year's residence in the United States is likewise required.

‡ In the State of Wyoming this provision only remains operative 5 years.

vote within six months of their arrival, why not arrange to hand certificates of naturalization to them on entering the state or even at the Atlantic seaboard, to take effect on entering the state? Such a method would be a *little* more expeditious than the one now in vogue and not much more indefensible.

Besides requiring a residence of at least ten years before conferring the right to vote, the law should prohibit naturalization within one year of any election, even if this provision had the effect of extending the ten-year period of restriction.

The advantage of such a provision is obvious. The voting "mills," which under the present law are run under full pressure almost up to the election, would proceed in a more deliberate and far more orderly manner. Temp-

tation to wholesale and indiscriminate admission would be decidedly less. And though party agents and managers might not be entirely free from such temptation they would feel the wholesome restraint of public opinion. This potent influence is of course relaxed during the stress and turmoil of a heated campaign, but once it resumes its sway our feelings of patriotism so far outweigh those of mere partisanship that the court scenes which mark the close of a great political contest would not be tolerated a year before the election.

Another indispensable safeguard to a pure and intelligent ballot is a requirement that every voter should be able to read and write the language of his adopted country. This is a moot point, but the general drift of recent discussion inclines to such a limited educa-

tional test ; one that is in complete accord with our theory of government, and has been adopted in several states. The wide extension of the Australian ballot, itself a test of illiteracy, in face of strong opposition, shows the trend of reaction from the idea of universal suffrage, so-called.*

* It may be interesting to compare a recent expression on this subject of an educational requirement for the suffrage with one recorded many years ago, but both from a democratic source.

“This organization has always been and is now ready to co-operate in the enactment of any law which will reduce the expenses of elections and promote the purity of the ballot, but it is unalterably opposed to any legislation which, under the specious pretext of reform, seeks to impose any qualification on suffrages, either of property or of education. . . . We pledge our hearty support to any bill which will provide for the isolation of the voter while preparing his ballot . . . but we protest against any change in our electoral system which would disfranchise a single honest man by discour-

There are various defects in the present statute, by which fraud and deception are practised. Although one section provides that a declaration of intention to become a citizen must precede the application for citizenship itself, there is no sure way of identifying the applicant as the man who has declared

aging the exercise of the suffrage by the illiterate or the infirm."—TAMMANY HALL, by resolution unanimously adopted Jan. 26, 1890.

"In the constitution of Spain, as proposed by the late Cortez, there was a principle entirely new to me, and not noticed in yours, that no person born after that day should ever acquire the rights of citizenship until he could read and write. Of all those which have been thought of for securing fidelity in the administration of the government, constant reliance on the principles of the constitution . . . it is the most effectual. Enlighten the people generally, and tyranny and oppressions of body and mind will vanish like evil spirits at the dawn of day."—THOMAS JEFFERSON, in a letter to Dupont de Nemours dated April 16, 1816.

his intention, though the old law of 1802 secured this identification. But it is not the purpose nor within the scope of this paper to dwell on minor blemishes, but to advocate a fundamental change of policy.

One important alteration in our present system, and the last to be suggested, concerns the method of bestowing the gift of the suffrage. While the regulations for examining applicants ought to be in no way oppressive, it should be the policy of the law to make them impressive and even imposing. The time required to pass upon the merits of each case, including proof of identity, residence, character, and general qualification, need not be long, and very seldom would be if the applicant could answer for himself without the aid of an interpreter. But the country owes to itself as well as the applicant that an appearance of solemnity

mark the proceedings commensurate in some degree with the great value and dignity of the privilege sought and conferred. Instead of the utterly undignified and helter-skelter procedure so much in vogue, all the surroundings, as well as the language and demeanor of the judge and court officials, should indicate the interest and importance of the occasion. Perhaps it would assist in producing the effect desired, and enhance in the eyes of the new-comers the great duty and privilege of American citizenship, were the following words of an American statesman—more familiar to us than to them—posted conspicuously on the walls in full view of every aspirant: “The boastful asseveration of the Roman, ‘Civis Romanus sum,’ is tame and unmeaning when contrasted with the full meaning of the declaration, ‘I am

an American citizen.' To possess a title to that distinction, the more precious because enjoyed and to be enjoyed by countless millions, is the most priceless temporal gift of God to man. You must spend days in reflection ; you must call to your aid the annals of history through long cycles of time ; you must hear the cry of the oppressed for ages ; you must listen to the tumult of a thousand battles ending in a deeper degradation, before you can estimate the worth of American citizenship, with its immunities from thralldom, its elevating rights and privileges, and its opportunities for dignity and usefulness."

CHAPTER V.

EUROPEAN RESPONSIBILITY FOR AMERICAN CRIME.*

THE following chapter treats mainly of the episode of the Mafia outbreak and lynchings in New Orleans. It is added, however, because it illustrates one of the appalling features of immigration, the persistent policy of foreign officials to unload on our devoted

* By this is meant responsibility of European *governments* for American crime, which is largely due to the vast criminal immigration aided or abetted by those governments. A good deal of this chapter was first published in the San Francisco *Alta California* some years ago, under the title, "Italy vs. America, A Plea in Justification."

shores their most worthless and dangerous classes. It is astonishing how little attention this phase of the problem has received. And this experience at New Orleans and the international complication that ensued show that entire neglect of the history of immigration referred to in a preceding chapter. If that history had been at all familiar the probable complicity of Italy in the Mafia immigration would have been known, and it surely would have been dwelt on when the discussion was rife. But hardly an allusion to Italian responsibility appeared at the time. If the department of state were posted in this matter it might not come amiss in the next international crisis.

Justification to ourselves, to our children, to civilization is impossible for such an outbreak

as recently occurred at New Orleans. For it was the natural development and outgrowth of the social conditions which more and more are coming to prevail in all the large cities of the country. We have long permitted an indiscriminate immigration of anarchist, communist, nihilist, pauper, criminal, contract laborer, Chinese highbinder, and Italian brigand, and the results of the experiment are becoming apparent. Class and race conflicts of growing magnitude will ensue, alternating with an occasional carnival of crime such as we have just witnessed.

These considerations certainly merit more careful attention than we have been wont to bestow on them. Although perhaps not touching directly the international issue, they have yet a bearing upon it. Moreover, the Louisiana affair,

viewed from this aspect, alters the meaning of the facts and sheds a new light on the situation there, tending to shift a considerable part of the responsibility for what has happened from the people of New Orleans to the people of the United States.

Of course opinions will differ as to whether a community is ever justified in taking the law into its own hands during times of peace. We may not feel disposed to exonerate the people of New Orleans or even to extenuate their action. But there is no reason why we should not try to look at the matter from a New Orleans standpoint, and to do so might afford us a better insight into the conditions and circumstances that led to the tragedy.

It is quite evident that the people of the Southern city regard all that has happened as a calamity rather

than as a crime, so far as they themselves are concerned. On no other hypothesis is it possible to account for the deliberate action of the mob and the determined, persistent attitude of the populace after the occurrence. To justify the step taken the claim was made that in no other way was it possible to mete out justice, or what was deemed justice, which implies that the general social conditions and the character of a portion of the population rendered the law powerless. Herein lies the real interest and gravity of the case, for what is true of the social conditions of New Orleans and of the character of her population is true to a greater or less extent of every large city in the United States.

In the administration of justice under our laws the only recognized or authorized punishment of crime is by means of that eminently

Anglo-Saxon institution, trial by jury. Whether trial by jury can accomplish the purpose for which it was designed depends almost entirely upon the character and disposition of the population of a country. The people from whom the jury are drawn need to have a certain amount of intelligence, education, judicial capacity, and training in self-government. And then the general sentiment of the community must be one of law and order, a sentiment that may criticise the law, but will only under the most exceptional circumstances fail to guard and uphold it.

We can really best appreciate this peculiar feature of Anglo-Saxon civilization by reflecting how obviously impracticable anything like a general extension of trial by jury would be in certain parts of Europe. There are some

sections of their native country in which, were members of the Mafia to be indicted for crime, no one would think of claiming for them the right of jury trial. The political and social conditions which obtain would render it impossible to accord them that privilege. In various parts of Italy it might not be feasible to find a jury of the neighborhood possessing the requisite qualifications derived from training and experience. Nor could the surrounding population be relied upon to uphold the verdict of a jury. Those who might endeavor to influence the jurymen or to interfere with the execution of their decree would conceive that in so doing they were striking a blow not at the people or at the country, but merely at the state as an instrument of government, a view likely to be shared by a considerable part of the people, and strik-

ingly illustrative of the difference in the theory of government between the Anglo-Saxon and Continental systems.

Until a people become thoroughly imbued with the English or American idea of administering justice, trial by jury cannot be relied upon. Its most conspicuous failures in this country now and for years past have been in our large cities, where the population is only partially Americanized. Bribery is the usual and familiar means of defeating or baffling justice. That bribery and intimidation sometimes succeed and frequently remain undetected is due partly to the character of the jury, and largely to the character of the surrounding population, certain classes of which seem to have no adequate appreciation of the enormity of the offense.

Criminals themselves and their immediate friends may be expected

in any country to attempt unlawful methods of influencing a judge or jury. But wherever the jury system prevails it is presumed that, as a measure of self-defense, the community will be ever on the alert to detect and punish bribery. In a republic like ours jury bribing and intimidation are the greatest of crimes, aimed not merely at government, but at the very foundations of society, at the people themselves ; for here, in a fuller sense than elsewhere, the people are the state.

At the New Orleans trial, bribery, it appears, was not the only influence brought to bear. If we are to credit the reports the jury and their families were threatened with death in case of conviction. Under the circumstances this could have been no vague or empty threat. It would make a vivid impression on the minds of men

having before their eyes the fate of a prominent official who had fallen by the same hands which menaced them, assassinated openly in the public streets. If an armed and courageous officer of the law had suffered death, what prospect had a private citizen of escaping that fate ?

If the foregoing description pictures truly the condition of affairs, it might be said that the final catastrophe, the climax, was inevitable. The collision between the officers of the law and the Mafia may have been its occasion, but the settlement in the community of large numbers of bandits and assassins was the real cause. Associations of men secretly organized for the purpose of blackmail, and resorting to assassination, whether to accomplish the purpose or to punish their foes, are modern Ishmaelites destined to come in

conflict with the law in any community. Criminals at home, criminals they remain. *Cœlum non animam mutant*. Louisiana does not afford the only illustration of their peculiar traits. The daily press for years past has chronicled the doings and misdoings of the Mafia in various parts of the country.

The ordinary methods and measures of law would not be applied to them in their native land, and experience has shown that in a republic such methods and measures are even less effective than in a monarchy. These considerations should induce leniency of judgment towards our countrymen of the South, and might well give pause to some of their critics. Instead of putting the entire burden of responsibility on the people of New Orleans, who have nothing whatever to do with foreign im-



migration, it would be more just and more generous to hold ourselves accountable.

Such a course also might prove more politic in treating with the government of Italy. Nothing that has so far been said could avail us much as an argument in the international dispute, except in conjunction with *other* circumstances and considerations. To urge, for instance, that the New Orleans victims were confirmed law-breakers, incapable of being dealt with like ordinary criminals, and to point to Italy's own experience in confirmation, seems perhaps to invite the question, Why, then, did the government of the United States admit them?

But that is precisely the question which Italy is not likely to put. It might be an awkward query—for Italy. Such an inquiry would lead naturally to questions

on our part, and the result of a thorough examination would perhaps show that the Italian government was directly concerned in the immigration of the Mafia, and therefore like the government of the United States to some extent a *particeps criminis*.

This New Orleans incident appears to have caused the world as much surprise as horror. But the *governments* of the world have no occasion for surprise at anything that has occurred. Our official and diplomatic records disclose the fact that for many years we have attributed largely to governmental influence the pauper and criminal element of our foreign immigration, and have addressed repeated but futile remonstrances on the subject to various foreign governments.

More than fifty years ago Congress began to investigate the

matter, and in 1838 reported :
“The fact is unquestionable that large numbers of foreigners are annually brought to our country *by the authority and at the expense of foreign governments* and landed upon our shores in a state of absolute destitution and dependence, many of them of the most idle and vicious class. Many of them ” (the emigrants) “are outcasts, paupers, vagrants, and malefactors from the poorhouses and penitentiaries of Europe sent hither at the expense of foreign governments.”

Despite our protests and the remedial legislation of 1838, the committee of foreign affairs made a report to the House again in 1856 on “ foreign criminals and paupers,” the statistics in which amply justify this statement of the committee : “ Crime and pauperism are the bane of a republic . . . That these evils have of late years

grown far beyond the ratio of the increase of population is an admitted fact. . . . Thousands have come hither" (within the ten years preceding the report) "to fill our streets as beggars or to become the inmates of our almshouses and other charitable institutions. Undesirable as such a population may be, we are yet afflicted with one of a still worse character derived from the same source. Our country has been converted into a sort of *penal colony* to which *foreign governments* ship their criminals. It is not only the thriftless poor who come hither, but inmates of the prisons of Europe are sent hither by their governments to prey upon society and to contaminate our people with their vices."

But the evil complained of was not even abated until the rigorous legislation of 1882, and nothing like a cure has ever been effected.

For the report on the importation of contract labor (1889) discloses the agreeable fact that the governments of England, Ireland, Germany, and Switzerland were and probably are still offering various inducements to their worthless and criminal classes to take up their abode with us.

So far as Italian subjects are concerned, the testimony elicited by the committee of 1889 was inconclusive. In this connection, however, there are several facts of significance. The superintendent of the immigrant landing-depot in New York testified that every Italian who comes here is provided with a passport by his government, a rule which is by no means universal among other nationalities. In response to a question whether it would not therefore be impossible for an Italian criminal to land, the answer was : "We have sent

them back"—Italian criminals, be it noted—"within ten days, and they *had* their passports. Q. Nothing was mentioned in the passport that they had been convicted of a crime? A. Nothing, sir. Q. Your opinion is based upon your knowledge that it is just as easy for a convict, for a criminal, to obtain a passport as for any other person? A. So far as I know, that is so."

Such testimony assumes special importance in view of the recent admissions of Italian papers that the Mafia and other Sicilian bandits and assassins have been uprooted by the authorities and driven out of their native country. But what is the land of their exile? As large numbers have recently appeared among us it seems natural to conclude that, unless Italy has departed from the general European custom, they were destined for these United States. The compar-

atively recent influx of Italian immigration also has an important bearing upon the question of Italy's responsibility for the presence here of the Mafia. And the continued arrival of such an undesirable element illustrates the efficacy of the latest and most rigid of our laws that were designed to bar its entrance. These laws were passed in 1882, and are presumed to have checked undesirable immigration. It is *since* that date, however, that the bulk of the Italian, including the Sicilian and Mafian, immigration has reached us.

Now, if it is a fact that the Italian government is responsible for the presence here of the Mafia organizations, were we accountable *to Italy* for the New Orleans affair under the code of international or moral law? If Italy, like other nations, has been making us "a

sort of penal colony " for the Mafia and kindred societies, is she not the real cause of the late catastrophe, or, at least, has she not contributed to it, to use a legal phrase, in such sense as to bar all claims to reparation? If her claims are not barred, by all means let us make every amend in our power and add in no way to the load of responsibility—the responsibility already alluded to and admitted—which rests upon our shoulders.

But why not seize the opportunity to assert claims of our own, claims to immunity from the injuries we so long have suffered from the nations of Europe? Our government has protested and legislated to little effect, it would seem, and now it might be well for the voice of the people to be heard. Whether or not the people of New Orleans were justifiable is open to question. But if the people of the

United States should assert themselves in an unmistakable manner at this time, there can be little doubt of the beneficial effect of such action. Let us request the government of the United States to ascertain whether Italy induced the Mafia to emigrate to this country. If that responsibility rests on Italy, we also are surely entitled to ask redress.

When the subjects of one nation are unjustly treated by those of another, the offended nation demands satisfaction, and satisfaction refused is deemed a *casus belli*. Such was Italy's position, ordinarily an unassailable one. But if maltreatment of individual subjects is a *casus belli*, why not make the future shipment of large numbers of paupers and criminals to the shores of a friendly nation a *casus belli*? What deeper, deadlier injury can one nation inflict on

another? An attempted invasion by the armies of Europe would in reality be far less menacing to our institutions, to our civilization, than the invasion we actually endure.

Whatever the wrongs of Italy in the recent controversy, those of America were at least as great, and they fail to obtain the slightest recognition. If we owe reparation, let us discharge the debt, asserting, however, our own rights in unmistakable language, so that some good may grow out of this evil.*

* At the time of the New Orleans outbreak the following vigorous resolutions were passed by a patriotic society and published in Western papers :

“ Resolution One.

“ Whereas the recent tragedy at the city of New Orleans has surprised and horrified the world, and has called forth general criticism and condemnation, and, whereas, we believe that the presence in large numbers in any community of the class

known as the Mafia may render the ordinary operation of justice impossible—

“ Resolved, that as American citizens we sympathize with the citizens of New Orleans in the experience they have recently undergone, and desire to express our conviction that the circumstances of the case may have justified the people—the ultimate source of law—in taking into their own hands the execution of the law.

“ Resolution Two.

“ Whereas the governments of Europe have long been directly instrumental in shipping pauper and criminal immigration to America against our repeated protests, and, whereas, there is strong reason to believe that the government of Italy has proved no exception to the general rule, Resolved, that we deem it a fitting time to urge the government of the United States to investigate Italian immigration to ascertain whether the Italian government has been aiding or abetting pauper and criminal immigration to our country ; and,

“ Whereas, the government of Italy has claimed indemnity and satisfaction from the government of the United States for the death or maltreatment of certain alleged Italian citizens at New Orleans,

“ Resolved, that we favor granting such satisfaction to the Italian government as

international law or the peculiar circumstances of the case may require, but in case the Italian government is responsible for the presence here of certain criminal classes, we urge upon our government *our* right and *our* duty to claim redress.—Resolved, that we favor making the future shipment of paupers and criminals to this country by foreign governments a *casus belli*.”

THE END.



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and complete that has yet been published on the subject: and as the question is of vital moment not only to the nation as a whole, but to every class of the community, it is one well deserving of attentive study by every voter in the land. And anyone, whether voter or non-voter, who wishes to obtain a thorough knowledge of one of the most important and vital questions of the day cannot do better than study the admirable summary of it given in the present work."—*San Francisco Examiner*.

In similar vein to the paper last quoted are notices of the "San Francisco Call," "Boston Journal," "Boston Transcript," "Brooklyn Standard," "New Orleans Picayune," "New York Voice," while the book is strongly endorsed by the "Oakland, Cal., Enquirer," "Philadelphia Church Standard" (Epis.), "Boston Pilot" (R. C.), etc., etc.

Manila, or Monroe Doctrine?

BY

JOHN CHETWOOD

AUTHOR OF "IMMIGRATION FALLACIES"



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BY

JOHN CHETWOOD

AUTHOR OF "IMMIGRATION FALLACIES"



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PHILIPPINE annexation, the dominant question of the hour, is so diametrically opposed to the principles embodied in the Monroe Doctrine that the people of the United States should make a careful study of the subject before abandoning a Doctrine that thus far has been a rudder to the ship of state and a guarantee of good faith to the whole world. When the point of departure from this Doctrine is clearly understood, the question will be found to involve a more momentous issue than has engaged the public mind since the close of the civil war.



*[Corrections in ink were made
by the author. — J.C.R.]*

INTRODUCTION

Importance of the Question

IT is universally conceded that the Philippine problem is The problem of the Spanish war. But the problem becomes comparatively simple if we decline annexation, and especially, if we decline it out of regard for the Monroe Doctrine. In such case there remains to consider, aside from requisite measures of reform, only what we shall demand by way of coaling or naval stations, trading and tariff concessions, and commercial "openings" along the Chinese coast for relinquishing territorial claims in the neighborhood.

On the other hand to remain at Manila and abandon the Monroe Doctrine, confronts us with a most serious question, serious not only for the United States, but for all civilized nations. Never until now have we faltered in allegiance to the Monroe Doctrine. It is the foundation, it not the corner stone, of the country's foreign policy since 1823, and we have always ascribed to it our tranquillity, security and freedom from enormous military

taxation, as well as our supremacy in the Western World. Less than three years ago to uphold this Doctrine we were facing war with a foe far more powerful than Spain, and at that time the public man who advocated yielding or risking the Monroe Doctrine for the sake of all Australasia, instead of, as now, ~~only a small fraction of one~~^{or more} of its distant islands, would have been consigned to the obscurity of private life.

had occasion to
Having become familiar with the origin and scope of the Monroe Doctrine, the writer has been impressed by the strangely scanty references to it at the present crisis. It is not to be expected that it would receive consideration from those that started the petitions for annexation, Chambers of Commerce, Boards of Trade, and similar bodies who naturally look at Manila through commercial spectacles, and thus fail to discern the weightier matters of diplomacy, statesmanship and international law. That the annexation press should do likewise is also natural.

But On the other hand the attitude of the conservative papers has been puzzling. ~~And~~ June was well on into its second week before it was clearly intimated in Congress, as well as by a very eminent jurist, that Asiatic acquisition involved a virtual repeal of the Monroe Doctrine.

Even up to the present time many conservative people apparently unregardful of the Monroe Doctrine, seem satisfied with the lesser serious objections which they urge to annexation. ^{But} Nevertheless the writer maintains that the Monroe Doctrine while the greatest is the easiest to understand. In fact, he believes the vital and controlling issue to be Manila, or Monroe Doctrine? He further believes that for the American people to fully understand the issue ~~now~~ at stake ^{would} result in their recording a decisive verdict ~~against~~ Manila.

San Francisco, Cal., Sept. 15, 1898.



CHAPTER I

What the Monroe Doctrine Means and Involves

THE Monroe Doctrine is ^{merely} an application to America of what Europe has long called "the balance of power." In effect it says to the nations of Europe, "since we do not meddle in your hemisphere, seek not to conquer or colonize in ours." We run counter to its spirit and letter if we annex portions of the Old World, and at the same time control the destinies of the New. "Imperialism" could stretch no further.

In this connection it is worth our while to consider the scope and meaning of the Monroe Doctrine to the men who formulated it. First, it will be interesting to note that the feature of Monroe's policy which has caused most controversy, the one forbidding further acquisition of American territory by Europe, originated with John Quincy Adams, Monroe's Secretary of State, and that the full name of the Monroe Doctrine should be the Monroe-Adams-Jefferson-Madison Doctrine.

For sometime before the appearance of President Monroe's message, our relations with Russia had been somewhat disturbed over the northwest boundary disputes, which were finally settled by the purchase of Alaska. At Washington on July 17, 1823, Secretary of State John Quincy Adams, stated to Baron Tuyl, Russia's representative, "that we should assume distinctly the principle that the American continents are no longer subjects for any new European colonization establishments;" and this statement his son, Charles Francis Adams, has well called "the first hint of the policy afterward known as the Monroe Doctrine."¹ Writing on July 2, 1823, to Richard Rush and referring in a different connection to the same matter, our then minister to England, Mr. Adams, observes, "the American continents henceforth will no longer be subject to colonization."²

Mr. Adams' remark was caused by the newly formed coalition of the powers of Russia, Austria and Prussia in what was known as the Holy Alliance. These powers were just then apprehensive of the spread of democratic ideas,

¹ Charles F. Adams' *Memoirs of J. Q. Adams*, Vol. 6, page 163, and note.

² *The Monroe Doctrine*, by Geo. F. Tucker, Chap. 2, page 13.

and of the popular uprisings all over the world that seemed to menace their systems of government. For instance, revolutions were breaking out in Spain and Portugal, and the Spanish colonies in America had proclaimed and practically established their independence. The powers deputed to France the task of "restoring order" in Spain, and at the Congress of Verona, in 1822, the "Holy Alliance" seriously discussed bringing back to their allegiance the revolted colonies of Spain.

Then, at the suggestion of Mr. Canning, prime minister of England, the American president proclaimed his celebrated Doctrine. Meant to prevent interference by the European monarchies with the republics of America or their institutions, it was entirely successful. In embodying the idea designed to bar Europe from further extension of territory in America, the president went further than England wished—although not further than the American people have seemed to approve in the Venezuelan dispute.

Before preparing his message, Monroe consulted his predecessors in office, Madison and Jefferson. Mr. Madison, on October 30, 1823, in a letter to President Monroe refers to the dangers threatening, through the Holy Alliance, our neighbors on the south; to our interest in,

and sympathy with their republican institutions; and to "the consequences threatened by a command of their resources by the great powers",—considerations which "call for our efforts to defeat the meditated crusade."¹ Mr. Jefferson was even more explicit. In replying to the president, he says: "The question presented by the letter you have sent me is the most momentous which has ever been offered to my contemplation, since that of Independence. That made us a nation, this sets our compass and points the course we are to steer through the ocean of time opening for us. . . . Our first and fundamental maxim should be never to entangle ourselves in the broils of Europe. Our second, never to suffer Europe to intermeddle in cis-Atlantic affairs. America, north and south, has a set of interests distinct from those of Europe and peculiarly her own. She should therefore have a system of her own separate and distinct from that of Europe."²

Thus fortified by ~~able~~^{the 53495} ~~counsellors~~ the president addressed to Congress the document of December 2, 1823. In it he refers to the negotiations pending with Russia and Great Britain

¹ Letters and Writings of James Madison, Vol. 3, page 339.

² Writings of Jefferson, published by order of Congress, Vol. 8, page 315.

for the amicable adjustment of their interests to ours on the northwest boundaries of the continent, and adds: "In the discussion to which these interests have given rise, and in the arrangements by which they may be terminated, the occasion has been judged proper for asserting as a principle in which the rights and interests of the United States are involved, that the American continents by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintained, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European power."

Toward the close of the message the president refers to the popular agitations in Spain and Portugal, as to agitations on which we look with interest and sympathy, but without any disposition to interfere, for he remarks: "In the wars of the European powers, in matters relating to themselves, we have never taken any part, nor does it comport with our interest to do so." But—"with the movements in this hemisphere, we are of necessity more immediately connected. . . . We owe it therefore to candor and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and these powers, to declare that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to

our peace and safety. With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European power we have not interfered and shall not interfere." And as to the American states which had declared their independence and been recognized by us, "we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them for controlling their destiny by any European power, in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States." He afterward repeats that our policy has been; and is, "not to interfere in the internal concerns of Europe," but as to this continent it is wholly different. European political systems cannot be extended "to any portion of either continent without endangering our peace and happiness." Reverting to the subject in his message of December 7, 1824, the president states: "It is impossible for the European governments to interfere in the concerns of our neighbors without affecting us."¹

There are two propositions that stand out distinctly from the state documents just quoted. One, is that the powers are no longer to interfere or to extend their holdings in our sphere, or hemisphere; the other, is that we disclaim the thought or intention of extend-

¹ Statesman's Manual, by Edwin Williams, Vol. 1, pp. 452-3, 460-1 and 476.

ing our possessions in theirs. In view of the language of the message and of its context, it is difficult to understand why Americans of learning and ability should dispute either clause of the first proposition, which they do when they admit that Europe is forbidden to overturn any American government, but not that Europe is restrained from enlarging her holdings on this continent.

If ^{the critics} those who dispute part of the first proposition stopped at this point, we might in answer merely refer them to the foregoing quotations. But they go even further, and denying our right or need to invoke against Europe the principle of non-extension on this hemisphere, open the way to utter annihilation of the Monroe Doctrine by destroying the moral basis upon which it stands. For the Monroe Doctrine ceases to be a Doctrine of equity and justice if while continuing to enforce it for American interest in the New World, we do not continue to refrain from interfering with European interests, that is with "the balance of power," in the Old World.

For instance, we enforced the Monroe Doctrine in the Venezuelan affair. A waste of water and jungle and mining land was in dispute; England was pushing forward her borders and to all appearance had greatly en-

larged them. The intrinsic value of the soil may have been little, perhaps much less than was claimed. But the principle involved was very important. Under the guise of boundary contests the foreign powers can extend their possessions on the continent almost indefinitely, and without effectual resistance, unless from us. The appetite for land, once acquired, is hard to satisfy, as we ourselves begin to realize. It has to be checked at once, and this country with a true instinct, ranged itself naturally and rightfully beside the president in the Venezuela difference.

The second prominent point in Monroe's message, disavowing any intent to interfere in European affairs is so important as to belong to a new chapter.

CHAPTER II

Some Things the Monroe Doctrine does not Mean

IN saying "we have never taken part in matters relating to the European powers," and "our policy is not to interfere with their concerns," President Monroe embodied the thought if not the words of Thomas Jefferson, "our first

and *fundamental* maxim should* be never to entangle ourselves in the broils of Europe." This is quite plainly the meaning of President Monroe's message, and applies directly to the situation of affairs in the late Spanish war.

Had we carried that war into Europe or Northern Africa, as was more than once proposed, should we have been allowed a free hand there? We might have destroyed Spanish ships, and blockaded or bombarded Spanish ports, but it is certain the powers would have prevented any annexation of Spanish territory. Such an annexation would have given the United States fortified outposts on the soil of Europe which, in event of war with any foreign nation could be used as a base of attack.

Since the time of Monroe, in fact from the days of Washington, we have resisted every inducement or temptation to assume the conquering, menacing, undemocratic attitude involved in such a plan of campaign, though it has been gravely and frequently urged by the more violent organs of annexation.

Any attempt of the United States to grasp European soil would at once upset the delicate equilibrium of that continent, and be resented as insufferable aggression, ^{It} and would resemble an effort by Germany or Russia to appropriate the Island of Cuba. In the late war if either

of these nations had been opposed to Spain, she might have destroyed Spanish shipping and blockaded Cuban ports or seized and occupied them temporarily. But any attempt to annex the island and substitute for decadent Spain a strong military power at our very doors would have aroused in us the instincts of self-protection. We would have reminded the victorious power, or invoked the Monroe Doctrine to remind her, that we had always confined our operations to our own hemisphere and had announced to the great powers of the other hemisphere that they must follow our example. Hitherto they have followed our example with some reluctance, ^{and} but if we invade their hemisphere on the coast of Asia ^{may expect them to} have we ^{any right} ~~to suppose that they will continue to respect a~~ ^{our} ~~Doctrine to what we have committed ourselves~~ ^{with} ~~and which we will be the first to violate?~~ ^{and}

Of course at Manila we do not menace the stability of the powers as directly as we should at Ceuta or Cadiz; still, it must be remembered that Europe and Asia are not only in the same hemisphere but are virtually one continent. Even in the early days of the century Europe had projected itself at more than one point into Asia. Now with Russia ruling all the North, England mistress of a greatly widened India, France and Germany, England, Holland and

Spain holding vast provinces or islands along the eastern or southeastern coasts, the vast continent of Asia has practically become the annex of Europe.

At the Philippines we are in a nest of European or Japanese dependencies, with England and Holland to the south, France on the mainland opposite, Germany and England on the northwest, and the countries of Russia and Japan beyond. Such are the commercial, strategic and political advantages of the group that their transfer to any one of the rival powers, or their absorption by a strong new power will unquestionably disturb the equilibrium of Europeanized Asia. While neither Germany, Holland, France nor Russia would be affected by our annexing the Philippines as directly as they would be affected by our invasion of Spain or Morocco, why should we expect them to limit their objections to us as a neighbor in Europe only? We do not restrict the operation of the Monroe Doctrine to the near-by regions of Cuba or Venezuela; but extend it all the way to Cape Horn. And the latter is practically as remote from our territory on the Gulf of Mexico as Cochin-China is from Paris, or Kao-Chang from Berlin. Moreover we own no territory near Cape Horn to which French, German or Italian colonies would be

near neighbors, while we shall become a neighbor to colonies of these powers by remaining at Manila.

It hardly seems needful to argue further the inconsistency of trying to retain both Manila and the Monroe Doctrine, and it is becoming a matter of no small interest to ask what Europe will have to say on the subject. One of the powers, however, holds that we have already violated the Doctrine by taking Porto Rico and Hawaii. This assertion we cannot afford to ignore. For if we have already broken our traditional policy, and if that policy was the only thing that stood between us and Manila, we might as well take up our march to empire. Indeed if we have surrendered, or intend to surrender, our control of the American continents, looking at the matter from a commercial standpoint, in return we ought not to be satisfied with anything less than a continent, and we ought to set about securing it at once. When it is understood that the Monroe Doctrine is dead, and that the West Indies and South and Central America are open to the powers, as a beginning we should immediately join in and secure our slice of China.

However, the part of the message quoted shows that, so far, we have not broken the Doctrine in the smallest degree. That Doctrine for-

bids Europe to conquer or annex in this hemisphere for fear of disturbing its, and our equilibrium, and it inferentially pledges this country to respect the equilibrium of the other hemisphere. ^{But} Europe could not be injured by any expansion of *ours* over here unless we annexed her territory, and she would not be *endangered* by that. In encroaching on any of our neighbors we would have to reckon with them alone, though of course, in acting unjustly we should receive and deserve the reproach of mankind.

From England came the suggestion that we have already broken the Monroe Doctrine. Though our recently improved relations with that power are one of the good results of the war, it must be carefully noted at this juncture that nothing would please Great Britain more than to have us as a neighbor in the far East. She stands there struggling to hold her own against Russia and France, if not Germany also, and without a single friend, unless it be Japan. Naturally she would welcome another friend, and be glad to form an "alliance." And it must be confessed that if we hold territory there we must expect rivals and enemies, and ~~would~~ therefore need friends ourselves. The "entangling alliance" so deprecated by Washington, may prove a necessity. It ^{will} ~~would~~ be only a question of time.

The English themselves, to do them justice, are perfectly frank in this matter. *The Spectator* of July 16, 1898, dwells on the continental dislike of America, founded, like its hatred of England, on the progress and comparative prosperity of the two Anglo-Saxon powers. Europe classes the two together, says *The Spectator*, and puts them in the same boat,—where, the inference is, they naturally belong.

The *Saturday Review* of the same date asks: "Now how will the advent of the new power affect the Eastern equilibrium?" The question is answered thus: "From the selfish British point of view we hope that the Americans will take both the Canaries and the Philippines,—and if they wished a port on the coast of China besides, they should have our help in getting it. The weary Titan that Matthew Arnold spoke of, with every muscle strained by the weight of empire, challenged on this side and on that by new competitors, menaced now and then by a combination of envious enemies, suddenly now finds standing at his side a stalwart son, who, though he has his own place in the world, and his own ambitions, yet seems inclined to say that the old Titan shall always have at least a fair field, and if the worse comes to the worst, some little favor. And that is the way we British feel about America."

This is instructive as well as interesting. Equally interesting, perhaps, if not quite so instructive, will be a quotation from a letter in the New York *Tribune* of August 2, 1898, from its London correspondent on "Misconceptions About Monroeism." "English writers," says the correspondent, "assume that the Monroe Doctrine has been abandoned in the present conflict with Spain. An expression I constantly hear in conversation and read in print is 'Monroeism is dead.' The misconception arises from confounding the Washington Farewell Address with the *complement* of it, in the Monroe Doctrine. The Washington principle was that Americans must remain out of European alliances and entanglements." The Monroe principle was that Europeans must keep their hands off the American continent, retaining such possessions as they already held but not enlarging their colonial holdings and conquests.

The United States in waging war with Spain for the deliverance of Cuba and Porto Rico from Spanish rule only recognized what the civilized world has acknowledged, namely: that Spain is no longer able to care for her colonial possessions. But the essential principle of Monroeism that European powers are not to enlarge their domain in the Western Hemisphere has not been renounced or compromised. Monroe-

ism is vitalized by the enlargement of American influence in the West Indies." The writer in the New York *Tribune* adds: "that if the powers were to assume the death of Monroeism they would speedily be convinced of its vitality," and then continues, "The invasion and occupation of the Philippines imply renunciation of the Washington doctrine of non-intervention in European affairs. . This is what English writers have really in mind when they speak of repudiation of Monroeism two years after the Venezuela question was raised in an aggressive form. If the Americans proclaim a protectorate in that quarter they will enter upon a career of expansion which may menace European interests and draw them into entanglements with foreign Powers. The *Monroe Doctrine* will not be affected by the settlement of the Philippine question. The *Washington Doctrine* is at stake in the South Seas and may be fatally compromised if the Philippines are retained as a permanent American dependency."

We may entirely agree with the writer just quoted that the Monroe Doctrine is in no way impaired but "vitalized" by any of our acquisitions in this Hemisphere. But we must part company with him in one or two places where we have ventured to introduce italics. The

Washington Farewell Address Doctrine is called the "complement" of the Monroe Doctrine. But as the theory of our non-intervention in European entanglements runs through both, the address should be called not merely the "complement" but the foundation of the Monroe Doctrine. They are virtually the same thing where the annexation of Asia is concerned. The correspondent is therefore as correct in saying that the Washington Doctrine will be fatally compromised by retaining Manila as he is incorrect in holding that the Monroe Doctrine will *not* be.

It will also be noted that the correspondent is one of the very large and apparently growing number of people who would stoutly uphold the Monroe Doctrine in this Hemisphere but would refuse Europe a right to uphold a similar doctrine at Manila. Let us see how Europe is likely to regard so one-sided a theory.

CHAPTER III

Europe as a Factor at Manila

IT was right to insist that the powers should observe all the rules of neutrality and the usages of warfare while we were engaged with

Spain on the coast of Asia. Our national dignity and self-respect demanded that our campaign there should not be hampered in any way. As a war measure we had every right to bombard or capture Manila or any or the whole of the Philippine Archipelago. We had, and have the right to retain possession of the group in whole, or in part, pending the conclusion of a treaty of peace and perhaps to remain in possession for a reasonable period afterward, either to enforce some conditions of the treaty of peace or to restore law and order.

Possession, however, being nine points in law, is nine and a half points in war, and the powers may be expected before very long to inquire our *ultimate* intentions. If the reasoning of the preceding chapters is sound, we may expect that they will not only ask our intentions, but perhaps make manifest their own. To preserve "the balance of power," they may insist upon a "^{Monroe} Manila Doctrine of the East" as an offset to our "Monroe Doctrine of the West."

There are indications that they are already preparing to do so. Press dispatches of July 15, 1898, contained this item sent from Paris July 14, and apparently "inspired": "The *Matin* has received from its London correspondent, who has unusual sources of information, a dispatch in which he says the Chancel-

lories of the powers are now discussing the question of the eventual intervention of powers in the Philippines. Germany would prefer maintenance of the status quo, but if, as a consequence of the war, Spanish sovereignty disappears American sovereignty must not be its successor. An international agreement will be established, and the powers interested will each be called on to protect its own interests. *This is the logical outcome of the Monroe Doctrine, the principle of which will be employed by Europe to protect itself against American interference."*

We emphasize the last few lines of the quotation because although they appeared in the associated press dispatches of the American papers, many of the latter have industriously avoided notice of the dispatch in their editorial columns. When they have brought themselves to discuss the Philippine problem with any regard to the Monroe Doctrine at all, it has been their usual custom briefly to assert:

1. That the Monroe Doctrine does not apply—which is wholly untenable;

2. That it is obsolete, as we are now too strong to be injured by any conquest of South or Central America—which may possibly find favor abroad, but is unlikely to find favor at home, or even in England so soon after the Venezuela affair;

3. That *WE* do not consider that it applies —which must mean that we are prepared to pose before the world, carrying Manila on one shoulder and the Monroe Doctrine on the other, ~~an enterprise of stupendous magnitude.~~

~~Yet~~ The point is not how inconsistent *we* may be in regard to ^{think} Manila and the Monroe Doctrine, but as to what other nations may think about ~~our inconsistency~~. If they differ with us, sooner or later there will be a conflict which will cost us no matter how it ends, the full value of the Philippines many times multiplied.

If we can only bring ourselves to look at the situation from a European standpoint we shall see that the prospect of such a conflict is by no means remote. In the June number of *Harper's Monthly*, "Cathay" writes: "It is a favorite commonplace to say that the world is growing very small, but, few people, perhaps, realize the deadly earnest which underlies that commonplace. For it is within the limits of this small world of ours that the nations of the earth must live and move and have their being; and in the same proportion as with the growing requirements of modern civilization each nation needs more elbow room for itself, the area within which it can hope to find that elbow room is being daily and steadily exhausted. The popu-

lation of the civilized portions of the earth has increased by leaps and bounds—that of the British Isles for instance, from sixteen to forty millions during the course of the present century, that of the states which now form the German Empire from twenty-four to fifty millions, that of the United States from six to seventy millions—the average duration of life has increased, and the progress of science and the more humane tendency of legislation combine to preserve many lives which from the purely economic point of view are rather a burden than a benefit to the community. At the same time the living wage, the standard of luxury, the proportion of unproductive to productive expenditure, have risen no less rapidly in every class of society.

“To satisfy these growing needs every civilized nation has been driven to work at a pressure unknown to former generations. Industrial activity and commercial enterprise have assumed gigantic developments. The marvelous discoveries of science have enabled the civilized world to multiply and intensify its powers of production to an almost unlimited extent. But to produce is one thing, and to dispose of what is produced is another. The powers of production of the civilized world have outstripped its powers of consumption, and

congestion is only averted by the continuous opening up of new markets and new fields of enterprise in those portions of the earth where the resources of nature and the energies of man still lie dormant. Industry, in the widest sense of the term, is, to-day, the breath of the social organism throughout the civilized world, and the cry for more trade—more markets—is as imperative as the cry of the human organism for more air when threatened with suffocation."

This admirable summary of the situation puts in quite a different light what we have been prone to call the "earth hunger" of our less favored European rivals. Their methods of opening new channels of trade or outlets to surplus population have no doubt often deserved criticism. ^{But} Some allowance should be made for the peculiar conditions and obstacles with which the Old World is obliged to struggle. There is no standing still; the great powers must necessarily expand or retrograde. Spain ^{herself} strikingly illustrates this assertion; ~~up to 1492~~ ^{up to 1492} she was expanding, since then she has been retrograding. The efforts of the powers to open and develop new markets, new colonies, are really efforts to avert decay and eventual destruction. And on the success of such efforts rests their fitness to survive.

To complete the thought we turn again to

“Cathay”: “In this tremendous competition the Anglo-Saxon race has, by a singular combination of energy and foresight and good fortune, secured a splendid start. Great Britain has built up for herself a world-wide colonial empire; the United States, stretching from ocean to ocean across one of the most favored regions of the earth, overshadows a whole continent. It is not, after all, unnatural that other nations, having lagged behind in the race, should resent the start we have obtained, and that when the moment seems to have arrived for finally opening up the greatest and richest field” (referring to China but these words apply both to China and South America) “which the world still holds in reserve, they should be inclined to cry to us: ‘hands off! You have already more than your fair share. It is our turn now to help ourselves, and to redress the balance in our favor.’ The growing jealousy with which both branches of the Anglo-Saxon race are regarded by the leading powers of the European continent is, at any rate, a fact which has to be reckoned with. . . .

“France, thoroughly awakened at last to the value of the colonial empire she once threw away, has devoted no small part of her energies throughout this century, and especially during its last decades, to repairing her blunders of

the last century. Germany, whose rapid transformation from an agricultural to an industrial state of the first rank has been a far more momentous event than her political reconstruction, is pressing on in the same course with the feverish haste of a belated traveler. Slowly but steadily, with the resistless momentum of its massive power, the mysterious empire of the Tsar moulds its policy of territorial expansion to new shapes under the influence of its silent development. And moving thus on parallel lines, they combine to curse the 'selfishness' of the Anglo-Saxon race, which bars their progress by the indefeasible right of prior occupancy."

Let us put this argument to the proof upon the map of the Globe. Study of it will show that less favored nations have reasons to fear and to envy the Anglo-Saxon. Great Britain has in her colonial system embraced all the best temperate regions outside of Europe and America, and has millions of hardy subjects on the latter continent. Almost everywhere in the Old World the other powers see the earth pre-empted or preoccupied by England. Turning their gaze this way, they again behold Great Britain ruling to the north, and the other great Anglo-Saxon nation in possession of the best and largest portion of North America.

More than that, we actually "overshadow"

the continent, as "Cathay" has said. European powers though covetous of the vast and fertile regions embraced in South America, acknowledge our dominance and therefore respect our dictum that no European power shall acquire a foothold in the Americas.

In the eyes of Europe our nation has already assumed a selfish and domineering attitude. When Germany thought of buying Cuba in 1885, and broached the subject to the government at Washington, she was informed ^{in perfect} that the cloak of the Monroe Doctrine covered both continents, from the North Pole to Cape Horn. Bismarck then said, "the Monroe Doctrine is a doctrine of insolence." While complementing our other doctrine ^{however} which respects "the balance of power" in the Old World, the Monroe Doctrine is not insolent. ^{It is merely defensive.} But ~~it would be insolent were we to claim the right to "balance of power" and the Western Hemisphere, and exchange our shield for a sword, were to interfere with "the balance of power" in the European world.~~

Whatever the European powers may have to say on this subject, let us hope will be said before very long—before we have finally committed ourselves to the annexation of Manila. So far as the writer of this pamphlet knows, from July 14, 1898, when the article quoted

from on page 26 appeared in the *Matin*, little X
 has been heard of a Monroe Doctrine for Asia.
 Perhaps there is no special significance in this
 silence. But then again it may mean that the
 powers are ^{at present} unable to form a satisfactory league
 among themselves, or that they have already
 done so, and that what they really desire and
 are waiting for, is to see us take a very small
 slice of Asia, and in this act surrender the con-
 trol of America. In either case is it not well
 for us to move with exceeding great care at this
 crisis in the history of two hemispheres? ~~Are~~
~~we not face to face with the question,~~ shall we
 suffer the Monroe Doctrine to continue a living
 Doctrine, or shall we do it to death with our
 own hands?

“If we allowed it to be known that we should
 not object to the colonization of South Amer-
 ica by the powers of Europe it would not be
 five years before the whole continent was di-
 vided.” This quotation is from a recent edi-
 torial in a leading journal of the Pacific Coast,
 a staunch upholder of the Monroe Doctrine.
 You ask, ^{It follows} “Of course, ^{that} this patriotic journal ad-
 vocates nothing that would jeopardize the Doc-
 trines?” On the contrary, ~~with a suicidal short-~~
~~sightedness, this same journal~~ ^{is} for annexation,
 —and for extending *its* circulation among the
devoted Filipinos.!

X The foreign dispatches of Nov. 25-30 show
 consensus of opinion abroad—outside England
 or keep the Philippines now virtually under



CHAPTER IV

Vital and Growing Importance of the Monroe Doctrine

SOME of the very papers that urge Asiatic annexation are becoming alive to the greatly increased importance which the war has given to the precepts of Monroe. The enterprising journal quoted at the end of the last chapter very sagely said on the 25th of August, 1898: "The outlook of the country has expanded in the Spanish-American war. . . . The battle for the trade of China is to be fought, peacefully we hope, but possibly, with guns and ships and soldiers. . . . The powers of Europe have in the last fifteen years gone into colonization with vigor. Africa and Asia occupied their energies for the time, but when the fate of China is settled these continents will have been divided.

"South America remains, a vast area thinly populated, with soil of great fertility. . . . For the future the freedom of these lands depends on the ability and disposition of the United States to fight for them. There is no doubt of the disposition of the United

States. Our people are practically a unit for the enforcement of the Monroe Doctrine, and are ready to resent in arms the attempt of any European power to occupy any part of the American continents. But . . . it is not impossible that there will be a combination of Europe to smash our policy." Precisely so. And if we changed our disliked policy from a defensive to an offensive one the possibility is pretty sure to become a certainty.

And a deplorable certainty. For the impulse which the war has given the Monroe Doctrine is obvious. With the acquisition of Porto Rico and Hawaii, to say nothing of Cuba, control of the Nicaragua Canal becomes a necessity. In that our interest is paramount. England on guard at Suez, claims that the canal there links the mother-country to her colonies. The Nicaragua Canal will do even more for us. ^{will link} By it [^]our east and west coasts will be brought together, ~~and our system of defence will be made almost invincible. It is to be our Gibraltar.~~ In time of war it should be open to our navy and closed to the navies of our enemies. Dispute over our control of this waterway by any European power would be most repugnant to the spirit of the Monroe Doctrine, far more repugnant than any foreign aggression or extension in this Hemisphere could have been before

we ~~shall have become~~ possessed of so vulnerable a point of attack.

As it is, we are even now more open not merely to attack but to *invasion* than we have ever been before. From such ports and stations as Europe owns in South America or the West Indies, fleets could ^{but} harry ~~har-~~ ^{ry} our coasts or bombard them. However, at ~~this present time,~~ any invading force would speedily be confronted with five or tenfold its number of Anglo-Saxons, and would advance to its own destruction. ^{But} Suppose, in the future, twenty-five or fifty thousand Germans or Frenchmen were to hold command of the sea long enough to effect a landing in Cuba or Porto Rico, how difficult and dangerous an undertaking it would be for us first to regain control of the sea, ^{then} to transport thousands of troops, ~~station them and manœuver them so as~~ to dislodge the entrenched invaders. At such a perfectly supposable crisis, if we should be unlucky enough to own the Philippines, which are 7,000 miles away from us, and only a few hundred miles distant from strong and heavily garrisoned French and German colonies, what, may I ask, would be the advantage of having chosen Manila?

Once constructed ^{when} the Nicaragua Canal ^{is built} will ~~justify its reason for existence, and in the eyes~~

of ~~all nations~~, the neighboring lands and seas will acquire new value and strategic importance. Then more than one power will covet ownership of West Indian islands. For example, Denmark is willing to sell St. Thomas, which would be a great prize for Germany. Even now, there are indications that guardianship of the Nicaragua Canal, and preservation of the integrity of the Western Hemisphere may eventually tax our national strength and resources to their fullest extent without the further burden of Manila. *As in short, great as has been the importance of the Monroe Doctrine it is difficult to even*

In the past the Monroe Doctrine has been of ~~the greatest importance to our national peace and welfare; standing upon the threshold of the swiftly advancing future, are we prepared to abandon a Doctrine of such surpassing value that its makers, and even we, ourselves, cannot measure its precious significance to millions yet unborn?~~ *its future*

CHAPTER V

The Questions of Duty at Manila

Of course in that
IN the realm of nature and of law, and of science, the higher duty always governs, *the law*
 When higher and lesser duties present their claims, and the conflict between them cannot

be adjusted, the ^{farmer} higher duties take precedence and the ~~last~~ ^{first &} others are not to be discharged.

What are our ^{certainly the first} highest duties at Manila? In point of time, those we took there with us, ^{are} the ones discussed in the preceding chapters, the ones we ~~have~~ assumed to our own race, to our own hemisphere, and to the powers of the Eastern World, when we planted our feet in the paths marked out by ~~Washington in his farewell address and by Monroe Adams Jefferson & Madison in the Monroe Doctrine.~~ These duties are and should ever be paramount. No ^{surer} wiser or finer counsel for Americans at this time can be found than the warning, ^{yet inspiring} corroborative lines of James Russell Lowell:

"O, my friends thank your God, if you have one, that He
'Twixt the Old World and you set *the gulf of a sea*.
Be strong-handed, brown-backed, upright as your pines,
By the scale of a hemisphere shape your designs."

As to the various minor obligations imposed on us or assumed by us at Manila, some of them are imaginary; while others may be discharged without annexing Asiatic soil and thus without conflicting with our higher duties. Any promises to the insurgents based on theoretical assumptions of annexation by us, are utterly opposed to the spirit and genius of our institutions, and to our traditional and declared

policy for seventy-five years, and should not be recognized by our government. But promises of protection from Spanish oppression or misrule, whether made to the insurgents in the field or to the limited number of the natives with whom our forces have come in contact, must be fulfilled. The fulfilling of these obligations does not entail annexation. They can be discharged, whatever nation may hold Manila, and be enforced by making it a condition of peace, especially if we retain a coaling and docking station on the islands.

There is another imaginary duty, of the sentimental order. It is said, when once the Stars and Stripes goes up there rises with the emblem of freedom our obligation to it and to ourselves never to strike or furl it. We are new to colonial wars and colonial conquests, and this is very new duty. Will its advocates kindly point out how many wars there have been in which more or less conquered territory was not surrendered at the close of the conflict, or traded for some other territory? There is hardly a war in history in which the winning flag has not come down somewhere. And it is often clearly to the victor's interest that it should.

If it is not for the best interests of the United States to stay at Manila, is she obliged to do so merely because her standards have been planted

there? We have recently been amused by the punctilios and quixotic notions of Spain and of certain Spaniards, and a keen sense of humor might serve to check the display on our own part of sentiments that are quite as high-flown and fantastic. These sentiments might seem less absurd if we had not gone to Manila solely to destroy the enemy's fleet and to obtain a base of supplies. It was a measure forced upon us by the necessities of war and leaves us free on the return of peace to depart from Manila unhampered by any feeling of false or foolish pride.

But it is urged there are duties to the seven or eight million Filipinos, beyond the suburbs of Manila, who must not only be rescued from the Spanish yoke but Christianized and civilized as well. The vagueness and the vastness of the suggestion almost benumb the faculties. In what species of crusade or knight-errantry have we embarked at the close of this nineteenth century, and how far will it conduct us? Untold millions of the African race are to day living under the sway of foreign powers with whom at some future time we may have the misfortune to be at war. ^{not} (A few million of these Africans ^{being} are ruled by Spain, ^{here} ^{seize} If we were to send a fleet to Africa and seize a port or sink a ship or two, ^{not} should we ^{stop} at that?

Would it ~~not~~ become a "duty" to assume at once the rôle of protector or of pedagogue to countless million negroes scattered over countless thousand square miles of swamp and jungle? The majority of the Malay and mixed races of the Philippines are almost as barbarous as the Africans and more intractable. Many of these people have shown no desire for relief from the Spaniards, and others do not require it, being practically independent. The majority of them would not understand our proffered kindness. Some of the islands are so wild, rough and inaccessible, and the inhabitants so uncivilized that it ^{has been} ~~was at first~~ estimated that 50,000 ^{6 even 150,000} of our brave soldiers would be none too many for conquest, ~~the estimate has been raised to 150,000; to afford adequate~~ ⁷²⁰² "relief" a standing army larger than this would be required. As ^{in individual} self-respecting Americans many of us are taught that our highest duties lie nearest ^{to us} home. ^{The} Nations and individuals who rush presumptuously ^{to} in and take up distant, indefinite, self-assumed duties as a rule are not angels.

Moreover as a missionary field it is difficult to understand the attraction or the promise of the archipelago. Many Protestant Churches and church papers seem, or did seem, to look upon it with proselytic eyes. But according to *The Catholic World* about 6,200,000 persons are

members of the Roman Catholic Communion, at least nominally, and we are already besought to quell not only civil but religious war. For the insurgents have risen against church as well as against state and seek to expel large numbers of the friars. What will their many million co-religionists in this country say to that? And the Pope is already ~~and with dignity~~ intervening in behalf of the persecuted. If annexation is sought for the purpose of bringing the natives into the fold of Protestantism it will invite bitter religious strife at home and abroad, a strife foreign to our experience and utterly opposed to our policy, and from which every patriotic American should shrink. The Roman Catholic population of the Philippines according to *The Catholic World* for August, 1898, quoting a French ecclesiastic authority is as follows:

1892 . . .	Augustinians,	2,082,131 souls.
" . . .	Recollects,	1,175,156 "
" . . .	Franciscans,	1,010,753 "
" . . .	Dominicans,	699,851 "
1895 . . .	Jesuits,	213,065 "
<hr/>		
Total,		6,148,250 "

All these perplexities, these new and vast responsibilities, we avoid if we avoid annexation. Humanity may demand that the islanders do not remain under Spanish rule. But

neither humanity nor self-interest requires that they come under ours. So far as questions of duty and humanity are concerned the other powers, as was indicated in a previous chapter, are compelled to extend their sway over new regions and over barbarous as well as half civilized races. With all the civilizing agencies at their command and their wide experience, it would be pharisaic to hold that we alone can restore prosperity and content among the Filipinos.

Egypt's marvelous transformation and advance within the last few years, is only one of the latest examples of England's genius for ruling alien races and developing their resources. Opposite the Philippines, Cochin-China is advancing and prosperous under the rule of France. Russia's great success in unifying Northern Asia is due to the skillful way she adapts her rule to new races, making them first content and then anxious to be Russianized. Wherever Germany's flag is raised, law and order are strictly enforced, and thrift and enterprise encouraged. The Philippines lie directly in the path of these and other powers, and directly within their sphere. The exigencies of the Cuban war placed them in our pathway to victory, but they lie far outside our sphere. We should therefore seek all the commercial and

financial opportunities which the situation at Manila offers, but at the same time, respect the rights of other powers and welcome relief at their hands from the responsibilities which do not rightfully belong to us.

CHAPTER VI

The Opportunities at Manila

AFTER a mighty and autocratic monarch has proposed disarmament, lessening of national strife, and advance toward ultimate peace, it would be a strange, portentous sight for the great and hitherto most peaceful republic of the world to cross seven thousand miles of ocean and cast her gauntlet in the face of the powers, proclaiming, "one law for us and another for you; a Monroe Doctrine for America, but none for Asia." On the other hand the great republic can mightily help the cause of peace and of the Prince of Peace by recognizing her clear responsibilities to other nations and treating them with open candor and good faith.

We cannot, dare not, abandon our Monroe Doctrine. Why then seek to compromise it? Why not rather safeguard it for the future by fully and freely recognizing its Old World

counterpart? Here lies our first and greatest opportunity at Manila. And to seize such an opportunity will be extremely politic as well as righteous. To retire from the Old World, or at least to offer to retire, on the ground that we claim no territory there, will vastly strengthen and sanction our attitude in the New World. We may then pursue our career and fulfil our destiny in our own hemisphere without fear of check or hindrance from any quarter of the globe.

Fortunately this path is still open. The protocol is merely preliminary, the final terms of peace are entirely unsettled,—at least so far as the Philippines are concerned. It appears that we shall have plenty of time to think, plenty of time to revise our estimate of the value of the islands, and to appreciate the enormous expense and responsibilities their possession will involve. So far as commercial and other opportunities are concerned, we may find almost as effectual a way to improve them without annexation as with it, and in doing so we may enlarge our field of operations far beyond the Philippine group.

Little thought has been devoted to these considerations, public attention having been diverted in other directions largely owing to the persistent clamor in regard to the mainte-

nance of our alleged *rights*, and to the discharge of our self-imposed duties at Manila. Suppose, however, that by the final treaty of peace, we are granted a coaling and naval station near Manila and one in the Ladrone; that we are also given a power to sell the islands to the highest bidder, or to several such bidders. Out of the proceeds of the sale we ought first to be paid all the expenses of the conquest and occupation; also, as a commission for effecting such sale, a sum of five or ten million dollars, sufficient to fortify our stations at Manila and vicinity, at Hawaii and Pago Pago,—*and perhaps one on the coast of China*, obtained with the consent of the powers in return for ceding our territorial claims on the islands. Any purchase money in excess of ten million and our military expenses might be paid to Spain for relinquishing her rights in the islands to their new rulers.

If any such arrangement can be made it would be the second greatest opportunity of the situation. We should be in, rather than largely out of pocket. And, what is more, the trade of China is of infinitely greater value than the trade of the Philippines. The former is our real objective, commercially speaking. There can be little fear of opposition on the part of China. Our appearance at a port on

the Yellow Sea would help maintain the integrity of the Chinese Empire, and be as welcome to England as to China. And if that empire cannot be held together very many years longer we should be in a position there to assert and guard a "sphere of commercial influence," and we would be as fully entitled to this as are any of the other powers.

A moment's reflection will show that from a commercial standpoint we have a personal interest in England's trade with the Orient that should cause us to view any injury to it with concern and apprehension. England is to-day by far the largest and best customer the American market can boast. But her purchasing power will be greatly crippled if her rivals succeed in appropriating her share of the trade of the East, which at the present time they seem bent on doing. In the *Forum* for August, 1898, Professor Brooks Adams has convincingly demonstrated that from the very dawn of history, trade with the Orient has given its possessors wealth and commercial leadership in the world. From every point of view then, China, far before Manila, is our commercial goal.

Important trading privileges, it is said, are to be had at the islands for the asking. Some have been mentioned in the dispatches, and no doubt are under consideration. It has been

proposed that American goods enter Philippine ports duty free, or with protective tariffs on some lines of merchandise. All such concessions, however, could be made or ratified in treaties of sale to other nations.

Of course it will be said that any plan to transfer the Philippines to European or Asiatic powers presents many difficulties. That may be granted without, conceding that the difficulties cannot be overcome. From recent disclosures it does not seem likely that Spain in her impoverished condition would be averse to being relieved of her charge, a most turbulent and expensive one. The prospect of twenty, thirty, or forty millions surplus from a sale would probably be an added inducement.

The second difficulty would proceed from the powers. It has been frequently urged that the powers could never agree among themselves to a partition of the islands, and therefore they would prefer the islands to remain in Spanish or American hands. Almost all suggestions of this kind however, have proceeded from *English* sources, and England's motives for wishing to keep us at Manila have already been given. Moreover, as we have also seen some of the other powers have taken quite a different line and have plainly hinted at the Monroe Doctrine of Asia, as they call it. To some of the pow-

ers the islands present many politic and strategic, as well as commercial advantages. They have had so much practice abroad in adjusting their "balance of power" and in granting to one nation "compensation" for the advantage secured by another that they have become experts in such matters.

And with so many islands to choose from, extending through many degrees of latitude and of abounding resources, it ought not to be difficult to agree upon a fairly satisfactory division. Such agreement is clearly to the interest of, at least some of the powers, and where two of the parties to a bargain have a clear interest in making it, the bargain is pretty well assured so far as those two are concerned.

There remains only the party of the third part, the United States of America. Of course the whole of this pamphlet aims to show that we have more to gain by the proposed arrangement than any of the other possible parties to it. The reported attempt of one power to interfere with the operations at Manila, even if confirmed, ought not to blind us to the rights of other powers or to our own true interests. In such a case and, if only for fear of being left out of future consideration or consultation, the offending power would surely give redress. Besides, as has been fully urged, our right to

resent or repel interference with our military movements at Manila does not necessarily involve a right to resent opposition to the disposal of the islands, ^{thereby} for in this latter instance, the ~~rights~~ of other powers are affected.

There has been a studied effort to confuse the distinction and to maintain that any foreign objections would be as intolerable *after* as during the war. On the contrary, by persisting in such an attitude, the intolerance becomes ours. To assert that the near neighbors of the Philippines have no interest or voice in their future is both arrogant and untrue, and makes our Monroe Doctrine appear grossly and offensively unjust. Instead of being forced to recognize this we should be the first to do so, and should proceed to take the initiative by calling a conference, or at least by consulting the powers concerned. If they, for any reason, are unable to agree, or ~~to~~ waive their interests, our position at home and abroad will then be unassailable. If we ignore their claims, we are likely to find ourselves confronted with a strong coalition in Asia; ^{or} later, this may lead to a coalition against us in America. *Later on.*

We proclaimed this war to be one of humanity and civilization. We cannot afford to close the campaign in a spirit of greed or wantonly to ignore the rights of other nations. The

Monroe Doctrine is worth five hundred Manilas. In the scales with the Monroe Doctrine lie our national honor and our national credit. Will the people of the United States exchange these for Manila?



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LIMITATION OF WEALTH

OR

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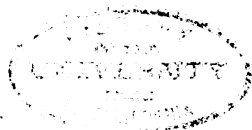
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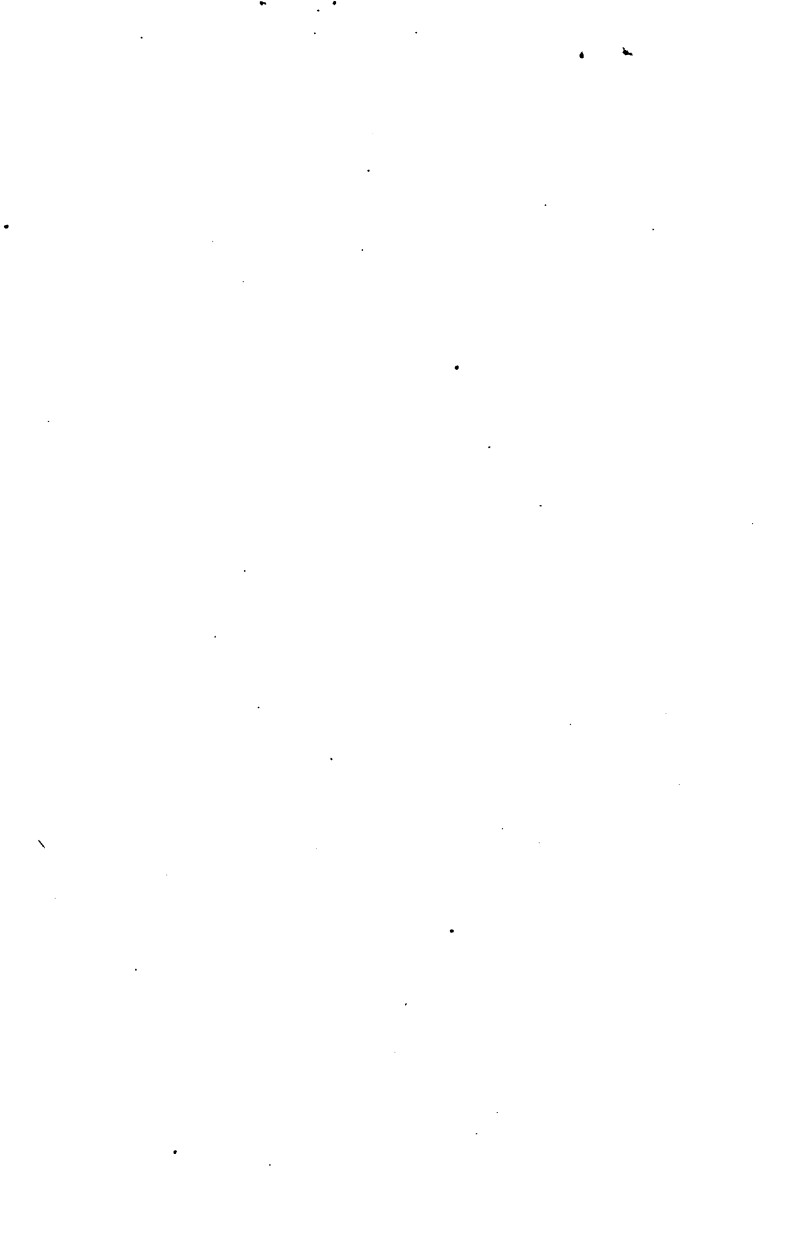
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